He is Omniscient
A Course on the Knowledge and Science of Islam
-2-

Knowing the Imams

Volume 15

Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah

Allamah Sayyid Muhammad
Husayn Husayni Tihrani

Translated by
Rahim P. Dawlati

Editor
Sayyed Khalil Toussi

Series Editor
Seyyed Hossein Nasr

Great Books of the Islamic World

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'Allāmah Sayyid Muhammad Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī Ṭihrānī

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Note: While it is common in Persian or Arabic to place blessings on the Prophet or the Imams (you may find an "as,""s" or "pbh" something similar after the names of the Imams), it is not common practice in an English text. Readers should just say the phrase of blessings in their heart when they see reference to the Prophet or Imams.

He is All-Knowing

The Course of the Knowledge of Islam

Knowing the Imams
Volume Fifteen

Lessons two hundred eleven to two hundred twenty-five

1. A few narrations on the recording of hadiths and its importance.

2. The first one in Islam who recorded the hadiths was Imam Ali. All those who recorded the hadiths after the Imam were Imami and the followers of Imam Ali.

3. The importance of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah* and the necessity of becoming familiar with it. This collection is also named the Psalms and the Bible of the Household of Muhammad.

4. The exact date of the compilation of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* and its appendix.

5. The chains of narration about *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* are numerous, and its relation to Imam Sajjād is certain.

6. The unity of the souls of the Imams with the Prophet, peace be upon them all, requires the complete mention of the Imams' names.

7. Distortion of the hadiths by Sunnis and the tragedy of the general massacre of the Shi'a by some of them

8. A discussion on the uprising of Banī Fatimah and some narrations about the uselessness of any uprising before the uprising of Imam Mahdi.

9. A discussion on the virtues of Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn and his uprising against oppression.

10. A criticism against Muḥaddith Qumi for not narrating some hadiths or parts of hadith, just to avoid people's misunderstanding of the Imams' intentions.

11. The Holiness Imam Husayn followed the case of 'Āshūrā with wisdom

12. Addressing the virtues of Ali Akbar and his martyrdom

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Lessons Two Hundred Eleven to Two Hundred Twenty-Five

On the Chastity of the Prophets and the Imams

LESSONS TWO HUNDRED ELEVEN TO TWO HUNDRED TWENTY-FIVE

In the Name of Allah, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

On the chastity of the prophets and the Imams, upon them be peace

And blessings be upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and may Allah's curse be on his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection! And there is no power or strength except for the Lofty Glorious Allah.

The Wise Allah has stated in His Glorious Book:

بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

نٓ وَالْقَلَمِ وَمَا يَسْطُرُونَ. مَا أَنْتَ بِنِعْمَةِ رَبِّكَ بِمَجْنُونٍ. وَإِنَّ لَكَ لَأَجْرًا غَيْرَ مَمْنُونٍ. وَإِنَّكَ لَعَلَىٰ خُلُقٍ عَظِيمٍ.

Nūn. By the Pen and what they write: you are not, by your Lord's blessing, crazy, and yours indeed will be an everlasting reward, and indeed you possess a great character (68:1–4).

In the beginning of section two hundred one in volume fourteen of the present work, we discussed in brief these verses and addressed the view of Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī, our master and the author of *al-Mīzān*. Therefore, we do not address any Qur'anic interpretations on these verses here, but we will address some hadiths on the importance and the greatness of "writing" mentioned in the verse from Āyatollāh Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn Āmilī from his book *Ma'ādin al-Jawāhir wa Nazhat al-Khawāṭir*. He states:

> The people have been enjoined to record the knowledge and there are promised and incentive rewards for this matter, as the Prophet says:
>
> قَيِّدُوا الْعِلْمَ بِالْكِتَابِ
>
> "Bind the knowledge by writing it!"

Hadiths and Traditions on the Importance and Merit of Writing and Compiling

It is narrated:

A man from among the Anṣār used to sit idle in the presence of the Prophet, but once he told the man:

اسْتَعِنْ بِيَمِينِكَ؛ وَأَوْمَى بِيَدِهِ، أَيْ خُطَّ.

"Let your right hand help you!" He pointed to his hand [and commanded], "Write with it!"

Another hadith says:

لَا تُفَارِقِ الْمِحْبَرَةَ؛ فَإِنَّ الْخَيْرَ فِيهَا وَفِي أَهْلِهَا إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ. مَنْ مَاتَ وَمِيرَاثُهُ الْمَحَابِرُ وَالأَقْلَامُ دَخَلَ الْجَنَّةَ.

Put not the ink and ink-pot away; there is benefit in it for writers until the Day of Resurrection. He who dies and leaves behind his ink and ink-pot [i.e., his writings] as a heritage, he will reside in paradise!

There is a hadith from Hasan Ibn Ali that:

إِنَّهُ دَعَا بَنِيهِ وَبَنِي أَخِيهِ فَقَالَ: إِنَّكُمْ صِغَارُ قَوْمٍ وَيُوشِكُ أَنْ تَكُونُوا كِبَارَ قَوْمٍ آخَرِينَ، فَتَعَلَّمُوا الْعِلْمَ؛ فَمَنْ لَمْ يَسْتَطِعْ مِنْكُمْ أَنْ يَحْفَظَهُ فَلْيَكْتُبْهُ وَلْيَضَعْهُ فِي بَيْتِهِ![1]

He called his sons and the sons of his brother and told them: "You are indeed quite young in the tribe, and you will soon grow up and become the master of your family. So do learn knowledge! Any one of you who cannot learn here, write it down and keep it in a safe place at home."

Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq stated:

اكْتُبُوا؛ فَإِنَّكُمْ لَا تَحْفَظُونَ حَتَّى تَكْتُبُوا.

"Write down, because you will not save it until you write." The Imam also said:

الْقَلْبُ يَتَّكِلُ عَلَى الْكِتَابَةِ.

"The heart trusts on its writing." He also said:

احْفَظُوا كُتُبَكُمْ فَإِنَّكُمْ سَتَحْتَاجُونَ إِلَيْهَا.

"Save your books [of writing] because one day you will need them."

The Imam also told Mufaḍḍal Ibn Omar:

اكْتُبْ وَبُثَّ عِلْمَكَ فِي إِخْوَانِكَ، فَإِنْ مُتَّ فَأَوْرِثْ كُتُبَكَ بَنِيكَ، فَإِنَّهُ يَأْتِي عَلَى النَّاسِ زَمَانُ هَرْجٍ لَا يَأْنَسُونَ فِيهِ إِلَّا بِكُتُبِهِمْ.

"Do write and share your knowledge with your brothers, and then when you are passing away, leave your books as a heritage for your children, because [after you] people will face a time of disorder, and in that situation they will have no refuge except their books."

Muḥsin Amīn has translated the Arabic term

هَرَجٌ

when the letter

رْ

is silent, as "disorder" as mentioned above, but it can be translated as "sedition," which will happen at the end of the world.

Ibn Qays Ruqayyāt said at the time of Ibn Zubayr's sedition:

لَيْتَ شِعْرِى أَأَوَّلُ الْهَرْجِ هٰذَا　　أَمْ زَمَانٌ مِنْ فِتْنَةٍ غَيْرِ هَرْجِ

"I wish I knew whether this sedition was the beginning of the calamity of the End Time, or whether it was just an [ordinary] sedition."

When the Imam says:

سَتَحْتَاجُونَ إِلَيْهَا

"You will be in need for them in the future," it probably means that one day because of the absence of the Imam or because of dissimulation, the Imam might not be available and you will need your writings!

Moreover, the Imam's description of the situation at the time of disorder is "the time when sedition dominates everywhere," and they are frightened with no shelter to take refuge in, so there is no source of information except their books.

One may also understand from this statement that people in that situation will have to rely on the just and trustworthy individuals among them.

With regards to this matter, the Prophet has stated:

إِنَّ الْمُؤْمِنَ إِذَا مَاتَ وَتَرَكَ وَرَقَةً وَاحِدَةً عَلَيْهَا عِلْمٌ كَانَتِ الْوَرَقَةُ سِتْراً فِيمَا بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ النَّارِ؛[2] وَأَعْطَاهُ اللهُ بِكُلِّ حَرْفٍ مَدِينَةً أَوْسَعَ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا وَمَا فِيهَا.

وَمَنْ جَلَسَ عِنْدَ الْعَالِمِ نَادَاهُ الْمَلِكُ: جَلَسْتَ إِلَى عَبْدِى، وَعِزَّتِى وَجَلَالِى لَاسْكِنَنَّكَ الْجَنَّةَ مَعَهُ وَلَا اُبَالِى.

When a believer dies leaving behind a page of scholarly writing, that page stands as a shield between him and hell-fire. And God the Almighty

> gives him a city for each letter that is bigger than the whole world. And whoever sits with a leaned man, God will say to him: "Are you sitting with My servant? By My glorious position, I will let you accompany him to Paradise and dwell as his neighbor! I do not hesitate!"

It is enough for us to read this statement of Imam Ṣādiq to understand the importance of seeking knowledge and the high position of scholars. He says:

إذاكَانَ يَوْمُ القِيامَةِ جَمَعَ اللهُ النَّاسَ فِي صَعِيدٍ وَاحِدٍ وَوُضِعَتْ المَوازِينُ، فَيُوزَنُ دِمَاءُ الشُّهَدَاءِ مَعَ مِدَادِ
العُلَمَاءِ، فَيُرَجَّحُ مِدَادُ العُلَمَاءِ عَلَى دِمَاءِ الشُّهَدَاءِ.[3]

"When on the Day of Judgment, God gathers the people in one place to judge their deeds, the pens of the scholars and the blood of the martyrs will be assessed, and the pens of the scholars will be more preferable than the blood of the martyrs."

Concerning this statement, Shahīd Thānī says: "The reason for such a judgment is that the scholarly writings will be distributed more than the blood of the martyrs."

Muḥsin Amīn says:

> But I say that the merit of a martyr is not merely due to being killed by tyrants; rather it is due to their struggling in the path of God and their religion. This is the reason for the lasting influence of their blood. Based on this logic, the hadiths give such importance to knowledge and the scholarly writings. Seeking knowledge of religion and writing on this subject benefits the people and remains useful for many generations and guides them through time, probably much longer than the effect of martyrs' bloodshed in the path of God.

It is narrated from the Prophet:

إذَامَاتَ ابْنُ آدَمَ انْقَطَعَ عَمَلُهُ إلَّا مِنْ ثَلَاثٍ: صَدَقَةٍ جَارِيَةٍ، أوْ عِلْمٍ يُنْتَفَعُ بِهِ، أوْ وَلَدٍ صَالِحٍ يَدْعُو لَهُ.

> When a man dies, his good deeds stop, but three good things remain for him: his continuous charity, his knowledge that others can benefit from, and to have a righteous son to pray for him.

Charity means giving away something beneficial for God; and knowledge means written knowledge by which other people can benefit in the future, as many narrations say.

In this respect, there is much advice from scholars as follows: "If there was only one respected skill among the people, that skill would be writing." There are also hadiths with similar content, as follows:

قَيِّدُوا العِلْمَ بِالكِتَابِ.

"Bind knowledge (learn it) by writing it."

العِلْمُ صَيْدٌ وَالكِتَابَةُ قَيْدٌ.

"Knowledge is like hunting, and writing it down is like catching it."

الخَطُّ لِسَانُ اليَدِ.

"Writing is the language of our hand."

تَسْوِيدُ خَطِّ الكَاتِبِ أَمْلَحُ مِنْ تَوْرِيدِ خَدِّ الكَاعِبِ.

"Blackening paper [writing] is more heart-ravishing than make-up for a young girl."

كَمْ مِنْ مَآثِرَ أَثْبَتَتْهَا الأَقْلَامُ فَلَمْ تَطْمَعْ فِي دُرُوسِهَا الأَيَّامُ.

"So many admirable works the pens recorded and left behind that the vicissitudes of time did not ruin them."

مَنْ خَدَمَ المَحَابِرَ خَدَمَتْهُ المَنَابِرُ.

"Whoever looks after the ink-pots, the pulpits will be at his service."

There are many poems on the importance of knowledge and writing, as below:

مِدَادٌ مِثْلُ خَافِيَةِ الغُرَابِ وَأَقْلَامٌ كَمُرْهَفَةِ الحِرَابِ

وَقِرْطَاسٌ كَرَقْرَاقِ السَّرَابِ وَأَلْفَاظٌ كَأَيَّامِ الشَّبَابِ.[4]

> It is ink that runs down though raw silk like the soft feather of a raven, and the pens like the sharp daggers [in the writers' hands],
> And it is the paper that resembles an incandescent mirage; and the words on it are soul-nourishing like animating days of youths!

Khaṭīb, by means of a series of chains, has narrated from Ḥārith, saying that Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib said:

قَيِّدُوا العِلْمَ قَيِّدُوا العِلْمَ مَرَّتَيْنِ.

"Bind the knowledge, bind the knowledge" (two times).

He also narrates by another chain from Ḥabīb Ibn Jarī saying that Imam Ali stated:

قَيِّدُوا العِلْمَ بِالكِتَابِ.

"Bind the knowledge by writing it." Moreover, by means of another chain, Khaṭīb has narrated from Mundhar Ibn Tha'labah, saying that Imam Ali stated:

مَنْ يَشْتَرِي مِنِّي عِلْماً بِدِرْهَمٍ؟

"Who is going to buy the knowledge from me for a dirham?" Abu Khuythamah says:

> The Holiness Ali's intention is:
>
> يَشْتَرِي صَحِيفَةً بِدِرْهَمٍ يَكْتُبُ فِيهَا العِلْمَ.
>
> "One who buys even a page for one dirham, one should write knowledge on it."

Khaṭīb also narrates by means of his chain from Dāwūd, from Abu Isḥāq Hamedānī, from Ḥārith, from Ali, the Master of the Faithful, saying:

مَنْ يَشْتَرِي مِنِّي عِلْماً بِدِرْهَمٍ؟ قَالَ: فَذَهَبْتُ فَاشْتَرَيْتُ صُحُفاً بِدِرْهَمٍ ثُمَّ جِئْتُ بِهَا.

"Who is going to buy knowledge from me for a dirham?" [Ḥārith] says: "So I went closer and bought a page of his knowledge and took it to Ali."[6,7]

Mustashār 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Judī says: "At the time of the Holy Prophet and Ali, the Shi'a followed Ali in writing books, or you can say the Shi'a were instructed [by Ali] to carry out the command of the Prophet."

Ibn Shahr Āshūb says: "The first one in Islam who started writing was Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, then Salmān Fārsī, and after him Abūdhar Ghifārī, the followers of Ali."[8]

Suyūṭī has narrated:

> Ali and Hasan Ibn Ali were the first compilers who spread it widely among the Companions.
>
> Abu Rāfi', the servant of the Prophet, Imam Ali's guard for public treasuries in Kūfa, wrote the book *al-Sunan wa al-Aḥkām wa al-Qaḍāyā*. Mūsā Ibn Abdullah Ibn Hasan says: "A man asked my father concerning testifying to the Unity of God. My father said: 'Do give me the book of Abu Rāfi'.' He did so, and my father opened the book and read the answer to his question."
>
> However, Ali Ibn Abi Rāfi' wrote a book on jurisprudence based on the method of the Household and Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's view. The Imams greatly appreciated his book and recommended it to their followers.

> Zayd Jahḍamī was also one of the followers of Imam Ali and accompanied him in the battles; he wrote a book on the sermons of the Imam.
>
> Among the writers are Rabī'at Ibn Sumay', who wrote a book about the alms of camels, cows, and sheep, and Abdullah Ibn al-Ḥurr al-Fārsī.[9] He wrote some parts of the hadiths he had collected at the time of the Prophet.
>
> It is recorded that Imam Ali has mentioned Aṣbagh Ibn Nubātih's writings on Mālik Ashtar Nakha'ī's epistle and Ali's letter of advice to his son Muhammad Ibn Ḥanafiyyah.
>
> Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī, a companion of Ali, has written a book about the Imamate.

Suyūṭī continues saying:

> There is another book related to Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn called *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*. And the Shi'a received many booklets and treatises from Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn such as *Risālat al-Ḥuqūq* and a treatise that was sent to Ibn Shihāb Zuhrī.[10] Amr Ibn Abi Miqdām compiled an inclusive book in jurisprudence that is a narration from Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn on this subject.

As for Imam Ṣādiq, he strongly encouraged people to seek knowledge, whether religious or scientific knowledge. He explained to them how jurisprudence and law can benefit them in their business and religion. He used to say:

الْقَلْبُ يَتَّكِلُ عَلَى الْكِتَابَةِ.

"The heart relies on written [materials]!"

The Imam himself used to dictate a [new] subject to his students; he prepared them paper and ink and told them:

اُكْتُبُوا فَإِنَّكُمْ لَا تَحْفَظُونَ حَتَّى تَكْتُبُوا.

"Do write, for you will not memorize things until you write them down."

Sufyān Thūrī asked the Imam to narrate for them the hadith of the Prophet in the Mosque of Khayf, hoping that he would ask Sufyān and others to bring ink and paper to write his lecture down. The Imam did the same and asked them to bring paper and ink and then dictated:

بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ. خُطْبَةُ رَسُولِ اللهِ فِي مَسْجِدِ الْخَيْفِ: نَضَّرَ اللهُ عَبْداً سَمِعَ مَقَالَتِي فَوَعَاهَا وَبَلَّغَهَا مَنْ لَمْ تَبْلُغْهُ . يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، لِيُبَلِّغِ الشَّاهِدُ مِنْكُمُ الْغَائِبَ، فَرُبَّ حَامِلِ فِقْهٍ لَيْسَ بِفَقِيهٍ، وَرُبَّ حَامِلِ فِقْهٍ إِلَى مَنْ هُوَ أَفْقَهُ مِنْهُ.

> In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. The sermon of the Messenger of God in the Mosque of Khayf: May God gladden one who listens to my preaching, memorizes it, and then conveys it to those who have not heard my speech!
>
> O people! It is obligatory to you to carry my lecture to those who are not among you in this Mosque; there are so many message carriers who are not expert in the knowledge of *fiqh* and jurisprudence, but they carry them to others who are more learned than them.

Abdullah Ḥalabī wrote a book and showed it to Imam Ṣādiq, and the Holiness approved it. We see in the history that Yūnus Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān presented his book *Yawmun wa Laylatun'* to Imam Askarī, and the Imam approved it and ask his companions to act on it.

After the occultation of Imam Mahdi in the second part of the third century, an impeccable Imam was not available to people anymore, and the Shi'a had to refer to written sources kept in the libraries, so books and treatises inherited from the Imam became important and very widely circulated among the Shi'a.[11]

Āyatollāh Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr, in *al-Shi'a wa Funūn al-Islam*, says:

الصَّحِيفَةُ الثَّالِثَةُ: فِي أَوَّلِ مَنْ صَنَّفَ الآثَارَ مِنْ كِبَارِ التَّابِعِينَ مِنَ الشِّيعَةِ....

"The *Third al-Ṣaḥīfat* (*al-Ṣaḥīfat al-Thālithah*) in early times was compiled by the eminent Shi'a scholars, but they lived at the same time, so we do not know who was prior to other. These scholars are as follows:

Ali Ibn Abi Rāfi', who was a companion of Imam Ali and the treasurer of the Muslim public treasury.

Najāshī, in his book in which he mentions the names of the early compilers and writers from among the Companions, says:

> Ali Ibn Rāfi' was one of the eminent writers among the companions of Imam Ali. He was Ali's private writer and received religious rules and laws from the Imam. He then wrote a book on jurisprudence, performing ablution, prayer, and some other rites of Muslim daily life. For the narrations that he did not receive directly from the Imam, he mentions his chains of narration up to the Imam.[12]

Ubaydullah Ibn Abi Rāfi', the brother of Ali Ibn Rāfi', is the writer of Imam Ali about the events of the battle of al-Jamal, Ṣiffīn, and Nahrawān. He is mentioned in *al-Fihrist* by Shaykh Abu Ja'far Ṭūsī. Ibn Ḥajar has also mentioned him in his *al-Taqrīb* as Imam Ali's writer, and he is considered to be among the third generation of authorized hadith narrators.[13]

Aṣbagh Ibn Nubātih Mujāshi'ī: Najāshī says:

> He was very close to Imam Ali. He lived after the death of the Imam. He narrated Ali's letter to Mālik Ashtar known as the Ashtar Epistle, as well as the Imam's letter of advice to Muhammad Ibn Ḥanafiyyah. Shaykh Abu Ja'far Ṭūsī, under his name, in *al-Fihrist* states that Aṣbagh has a book on the martyrdom of Husayn Ibn Ali that Dawrī has narrated from him.[14]

Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī (Abu Ṣādiq) is one of the companions of Imam Ali and has a valuable book in which he has narrated hadith from Imam Ali, Salmān Fārsī, Abūdhar Ghifārī, Miqdād, 'Ammār Yāsir, and some other great Companions. Shaykh Abu Abdullah Nu'mānī, whose name was already mentioned among the Qur'an exegetes, in his book *al-Ghaybat*, after narrating a hadith from the book of Sulaym Ibn Qays, writes as follows: "There is a consensus among Shi'a scholars that the book of Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilāli is the oldest valid source and is written with great care." He then says: "Sulaym's book is a reliable source for Islamic history and knowledge. Shi'a refer to it often." Sulaym died in Kūfa at the beginning of the regime of Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf.

Maytham Ibn Yaḥyā Abu Ṣāliḥ Tammār was one of the closest companions of Imam Ali and a trustee of the Imam's esoteric knowledge. Shaykh Abu Ja'far Ṭūsī, Shaykh Abu 'Amr Kashshī, and the author of *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā* have admired his very valuable writings. Maytham was killed by Ubaydullah Ibn Ziyād in Kūfa.[15]

Muhammad Ibn Qays Bajalī has a book that consists of narrations from Imam Ali. The early Shi'a scholars considered him to be an Imami and quoted him. Shaykh Abu Ja'far Ṭūsī, in his *al-Fihrist* by means of his chains, has narrated from 'Ubayd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Qays, saying: "When we presented this book to Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn (Imam Ṣādiq), the Imam said: 'This is the statement of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.'" The book starts with this sentence: "When he [Imam Ali] was going to do his prayer, he used to say in his praying ..."[16]

Ya'lā Ibn Murrah has a book in which he narrates from the Master of the Faithful, Imam Ali. Najāshī, in *al-Fihrist*, connects some of his chains of hadiths to him.[17]

'Abaydullah Ibn al-Ḥurr al-Ju'fī al-Kūfī is a poet and a brave warrior. He has a book in which he narrates from Imam Ali. He died at the time of Mukhtār in Kūfa. Najāshī has mentioned him as among the first generation of Shi'i hadith narrators.[18]

Rabī'at Ibn Sumay' has a book on *zakāt* for camels, cows, and sheep. Najāshī believes he is also among the first generation of Shi'i hadith narrators, and he is of the great Followers [*Tābi'īn*, a generation after the Companions of the Prophet].

Ḥārith Ibn Abdullah A'awar Hamedānī (Abu Zuhayr): He was the companion of Imam Ali and has written a book in which he narrates from Imam Ali about the events of the Jews. His narration from Imam Ali is through 'Amr Ibn Abi Miqdām, from Abu Isḥāq Sabī'ī. This chain is mentioned in *al-Fihrist* of Shaykh Abu Ja'far Ṭūsī. Ḥārith died during Abdullah Ibn Zubayr's rule.[19]

Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr has addressed this information in more detail in *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a li 'Ulūm al-Islam* as follows.

> It should be known that Ali Ibn Abu Rāfi' was a great scholar who wrote an original book on jurisprudence based on Shi'a law. Āyatollāh Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr has mentioned this book, praised it, and introduced it as a very authentic reference on this subject. Having admired Ibn Abu Rāfi', Ṣadr says this book is the most original and valuable book in the early time of this branch of knowledge. Ṣadr believes that Ibn Abu Rāfi' was the first Shi'a to write on the science of jurisprudence.[20]

After some explanation about the translation of this book, Ṣadr says:

> He has compiled a book about jurisprudence, consisting of discussion on ablution, praying, and many other subjects. Ibn Abu Rāfi' 'had learned jurisprudence from Imam Ali, and he compiled this book during Imam Ali's life. The first chapter of the book is on performing ablution, as he states: when anyone of you performs ablution, begin from the right hand and then left hand.[21]

Najāshī says: "The Shi'a commonly respect his book, and he was the first person among the Shi'a who wrote such a valuable book." Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī has said: "The first person among the Sunnis who wrote a book on jurisprudence was al-Imam Abu Ḥanīfah."

It is quite clear that the book of Ibn Abu Rāfi' was compiled at the time of Imam Ali, that is, long before Abu Ḥanīfah. Therefore, when

Suyūṭī says "the first person," this means he is first among the Sunnis. There are still other Shi'a scholars who wrote on this subject before Abu Ḥanifah, like Qāsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr Tābi'ī and Sa'īd Ibn Muṣayyib, who is among the top six jurisprudents. He lived during Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb's caliphate and died in 94 AH.

Qāsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr (d. 106) was also a great jurist. He was the grandfather of Imam Ṣādiq on his mother's side, because the Imam's mother was Umm Farwah, the daughter of Qāsim. Qāsim married the daughter of Zayn al-'Ābidīn, Ali Ibn al-Husayn.[22]

Concerning this issue, Abdullah Ḥimyarī in *Qurb al-Isnād* says:

> When in the presence of Imam Riḍā someone mentioned the names of Qāsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr and Sa'īd Ibn Muṣayyib,tThe Imam stated that
>
> كانا على هذا الامر.
>
> "They were both faithful (both of them are the Shi'a)."

Kulaynī, considering the birth of Abu Abdullah al-Ṣādiq, has narrated from Yaḥyā Ibn Jarīr, who says: "The Holiness Abu Abdullah al-Ṣādiq stated: "Sa'īd Ibn Muṣayyib and Qāsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr and Abu Khālid Kabulī were the students of the Holiness Imam Ali Ibn al-Husayn.'"

In another hadith, Kulaynī says: "Those two were of the followers of the Holiness Imam Ali Ibn al-Husayn."[23]

Siyyed Ṣadr in *Ta'sis al-Shi'a,* after explaining Ali Ibn Abu Rāfi''s book on jurisprudence (as the first book on this subject), says:

> That which Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī has said in his *al-Awā'il*—"The first man who wrote books about jurisprudence was Imam Ḥanifah"—is absolutely wrong, because Abu Ḥanīfah was born in the year 100 and died in 150, so how can he be the first to write a jurisprudence book? Perhaps he wants to say he was the first man among the Sunnis who wrote such a book, but in Islam, Abu Rāfi' is the first person who wrote on jurisprudence.[24]

Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah: The Bible of the Household, the Psalm for Āl Muhammad

Ibn Shahr Āshūb, in *Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā,* having addressed the biography of Yaḥyā Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Husayni Raqqī, narrates from Imam Ṣādiq the famous supplication known as the Bible of Ahl al-Bayt[25] as follows:

The supplication of *Ṣaḥīfah* is known as the Zabūr Āl Muhammad,[26] and *Kāmilah* (comprehensive) either refers to its content or to its author; therefore it is said:

كُلُّ شَيْءٍ مِنَ الْجَمِيلِ جَمِيلٌ.[27]

"Whatever comes from the beautiful [perfect], is beautiful [perfect]!"

(56) رَبِّ صَلِّ عَلَى أَطَائِبِ أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ الَّذِينَ اخْتَرْتَهُمْ لِأَمْرِكَ، وَجَعَلْتَهُمْ خَزَنَةَ عِلْمِكَ، وَحَفَظَةَ دِينِكَ، وَخُلَفَاءَكَ فِي أَرْضِكَ، وَحُجَجَكَ عَلَى عِبَادِكَ، وَطَهَّرْتَهُمْ مِنَ الرِّجْسِ وَالدَّنَسِ تَطْهِيراً بِإِرَادَتِكَ، وَجَعَلْتَهُمُ الْوَسِيلَةَ إِلَيْكَ، وَالْمَسْلَكَ إِلَى جَنَّتِكَ.

(57) رَبِّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ صَلَوةً تُجْزِلُ لَهُمْ بِهَا مِنْ نِحَلِكَ وَكَرَامَتِكَ، وَتُكْمِلُ لَهُمُ الْأَشْيَاءَ مِنْ عَطَايَاكَ وَنَوَافِلِكَ، وَتُوَفِّرُ عَلَيْهِمُ الْحَظَّ مِنْ عَوَائِدِكَ وَفَوَائِدِكَ.

(58) رَبِّ صَلِّ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَيْهِمْ صَلَوةً لَا أَمَدَ فِي أَوَّلِهَا، وَلَا غَايَةَ لِأَمَدِهَا، وَلَا نِهَايَةَ لِآخِرِهَا.

(59) رَبِّ صَلِّ عَلَيْهِمْ زِنَةَ عَرْشِكَ وَمَا دُونَهُ، وَمِلْأَ سَمَوَاتِكَ وَمَا فَوْقَهُنَّ، وَعَدَدَ أَرَضِيكَ وَمَا تَحْتَهُنَّ وَمَا بَيْنَهُنَّ، صَلَوةً تُقَرِّبُهُمْ مِنْكَ زُلْفَى، وَتَكُونُ لَكَ وَلَهُمْ رِضًى، وَمُتَّصِلَةً بِنَظَائِرِهِنَّ أَبَداً.

O Allah, bless the purest of his Household whom You chose for [carrying] Your commands, You appointed them to be the trusty of your knowledge, and the guardians of your religion. You made them be Your vicegerents on the earth, and to be the reliable proofs for Your obedient; with Your judicious will and providence, You made them be clean and free from any faults. You assigned them as a guide to You and a straight path to Your Paradise.

O Allah, bless Muhammad and his Household, with Your great mercy and blessing that satisfies them forever, and bestow on them all kinds of graces, mercy, and blessings from Your own treasury so as to equip them.

O Allah, bless him and his Household, an eternal great blessing from any kind of goodness and happiness from Your generous treasury.

O Allah, bless them with such a providence that there is none like it in Your court of Sovereignty, such a blessing that is bestowed through the heavens and beyond! A blessing that fill up the earth, the sky, and everything in the firmament of Yours! Bless them in a way that brings them closer to You than ever! Bless them in such a way that makes them the source of blessing and grace!

(60) اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّكَ أَيَّدْتَ دِينَكَ فِي كُلِّ أَوَانٍ بِإِمَامٍ أَقَمْتَهُ عَلَماً لِعِبَادِكَ، وَمَنَاراً فِي بِلَادِكَ بَعْدَ أَنْ وَصَلْتَ حَبْلَهُ بِحَبْلِكَ، وَجَعَلْتَهُ الذَّرِيعَةَ إِلَى رِضْوَانِكَ، وَافْتَرَضْتَ طَاعَتَهُ، وَحَذَّرْتَ مَعْصِيَتَهُ، وَأَمَرْتَ بِامْتِثَالِ أَوَامِرِهِ، وَالانْتِهَاءِ عِنْدَ نَهْيِهِ، وَأَلَّا يَتَقَدَّمَهُ مُتَقَدِّمٌ، وَلَا يَتَأَخَّرَ عَنْهُ مُتَأَخِّرٌ. فَهُوَ عِصْمَةُ اللَّائِذِينَ، وَكَهْفُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، وَعُرْوَةُ الْمُتَمَسِّكِينَ، وَبَهَاءُ الْعَالَمِينَ.

(61) اللَّهُمَّ فَأَوْزِعْ لِوَلِيِّكَ شُكْرَ مَا أَنْعَمْتَ بِهِ عَلَيْهِ، وَأَوْزِعْنَا مِثْلَهُ فِيهِ، وَآتِهِ مِنْ لَدُنْكَ سُلْطَاناً نَصِيراً، وَافْتَحْ لَهُ فَتْحاً يَسِيراً، وَأَعِنْهُ بِرُكْنِكَ الأَعَزِّ، وَاشْدُدْ أَزْرَهُ، وَقَوِّ عَضُدَهُ، وَرَاعِهِ بِعَيْنِكَ، وَاحْمِهِ بِحِفْظِكَ، وَانْصُرْهُ بِمَلَائِكَتِكَ، وَامْدُدْهُ بِجُنْدِكَ الأَغْلَبِ.

O Allah, certainly You have confirmed Your religion at any time by an Imam, the very Imam that You assigned as the pioneer, guide, and leader for people.

You assigned the Imam as Your highest illuminating pillar in the cities and made him a reliable guide to the people; You adhered him as a connection rope to You, and by constant providence, You made him the means of satisfaction for Your servants.

You assigned his obedience to be necessary and following his footsteps essential for all nations! You made Your servants avoid disobeying him but just listen to his orders by all means.

You made the people's conforming to the Imam necessary, and enjoined them not to take the lead in his presence, and no man to fall behind him but just remain with him and follow his way.

Therefore. he is the only shelter for Your servants, and so is he who cares for the people by all means. He is as the cave for the refugee, and so is he the strongest port to save them. He is the illuminating light in the world!

O Allah, so give authority to Your chosen Imam and inspire him to thank You for the blessing You have bestowed on him, so do inspire us to come to know our duty in his presence, to thank him, to be his obedient, and to carry out his command; and by the Might of Yours strengthen him, make him a powerful sultan; bestow on him victory in his task, make him victorious in his dealing with affairs, make his task easier to him, make him stronger, and take him under your protection. Protect him by Your divine angels, and help him by Your victorious aids!

(62) وَأَقِمْ بِهِ كِتَابَكَ وَحُدُودَكَ وَشَرَائِعَكَ وَسُنَنَ رَسُولِكَ صَلَوَاتُكَ اللَّهُمَّ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ، وَأَحْيِ بِهِ مَا
أَمَاتَهُ الظَّالِمُونَ مِنْ مَعَالِمِ دِينِكَ، وَاجْلُ بِهِ صَدَأَ الْجَوْرِ عَنْ طَرِيقَتِكَ، وَأَبِنْ بِهِ الضَّرَّاءَ مِنْ سَبِيلِكَ، وَ
أَزِلْ بِهِ النَّاكِبِينَ عَنْ صِرَاطِكَ، وَامْحَقْ بِهِ بُغَاةَ قَصْدِكَ عِوَجاً.

(63) وَأَلِنْ جَانِبَهُ لِأَوْلِيَائِكَ، وَابْسُطْ يَدَهُ عَلَى أَعْدَائِكَ، وَهَبْ لَنَا رَأْفَتَهُ وَرَحْمَتَهُ وَتَعَطُّفَهُ وَتَحَنُّنَهُ، وَ
اجْعَلْنَا لَهُ سَامِعِينَ مُطِيعِينَ، وَفِي رِضَاهُ سَاعِينَ، وَإِلَى نُصْرَتِهِ وَالْمُدَافَعَةِ عَنْهُ مُكْنِفِينَ، وَإِلَيْكَ وَإِلَى
رَسُولِكَ صَلَوَاتُكَ اللَّهُمَّ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ بِذَلِكَ مُتَقَرِّبِينَ.

By him [the Imam], establish and implement Your Shari'ah and law mentioned in the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet, protect and restore whatever of Your laws have been ruined and damaged by the oppressor and the aggressive.

By his assistance, smooth the path to You and remove all the hurdles the oppressor has laid on Your path. And for the sake of him, remove the difficulties in reaching Your religion! Take away the blocking obstacles of Your path caused by people who have deviated from right path.

And make his heart soft and tender toward his friends and followers, strengthen his power against the enemies, and let us enjoy his kindness, forgiveness, and guidance, make us obedient to follow his way and carry out his commands, grant us the opportunity to please him. Furnish our ways in such a way that we always rise for his support and fight with his enemies, and direct us to come to You and to follow Your Messenger, so as in this way to be obedient to You and to gain the favor of Your nearness.

(64) اللَّهُمَّ وَصَلِّ عَلَى أَوْلِيَائِهِمُ الْمُعْتَرِفِينَ بِمَقَامِهِمُ، الْمُتَّبِعِينَ مَنْهَجَهُمُ، الْمُقْتَفِينَ آثَارَهُمُ، الْمُسْتَمْسِكِينَ
بِعُرْوَتِهِمُ، الْمُتَمَسِّكِينَ بِوِلَايَتِهِمُ، الْمُؤْتَمِّينَ بِإِمَامَتِهِمُ، الْمُسَلِّمِينَ لِأَمْرِهِمُ، الْمُجْتَهِدِينَ فِي طَاعَتِهِمُ،
الْمُنْتَظِرِينَ أَيَّامَهُمُ، الْمَادِّينَ إِلَيْهِمْ أَعْيُنَهُمُ، الصَّلَوَاتِ الْمُبَارَكَاتِ الزَّاكِيَاتِ النَّامِيَاتِ الْغَادِيَاتِ الرَّائِحَاتِ.

(65) وَسَلِّمْ عَلَيْهِمْ وَعَلَى أَرْوَاحِهِمْ، وَاجْمَعْ عَلَى التَّقْوَى أَمْرَهُمْ، وَأَصْلِحْ لَهُمْ شُؤُونَهُمْ، وَتُبْ عَلَيْهِمْ،
إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ التَّوَّابُ الرَّحِيمُ، وَخَيْرُ الْغَافِرِينَ، وَاجْعَلْنَا مَعَهُمْ فِي دَارِ السَّلَامِ بِرَحْمَتِكَ يَا أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ.[28]

O Allah, bless the friends of them who understand their station, the followers of their path, the pursuers of their works and attitudes.

May God donate His greeting and reward to their soul, manage their affairs and their mission based on piety and benevolence, and set right their facets and concerns.

Surely You are the Repenting, the Merciful, and the best of the forgivers; and place us with them in the abode of peace and refuge with Your Mercy, O the most Merciful of the merciful!

A Short Account of Imam Sajjād's Conditions

At this point, we address two supplications from the Holiness Imam Sayyid al-'Ābidīn's[29] *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah,* which is composed in a poetic style, and I have never seen any supplications to the Lofty and Majestic Creator better than them. These two supplications are issued on the Day of 'Arafah and are very appropriate to our present discussion on the issue of the Imamate.[30] Through these short supplications, the Imam has unveiled the fact of the Imamate and the caliphate, as well as the responsibility of the people toward them. Imam Muhammad Bāqir, Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq, Imam Riḍā, and the other Imams after them not only referred to these supplications when they spoke of the Imamate, but they used them as reference for their teachings of metaphysical and theological issues such as the Unity of Allah, the Prophecy, and the guardianship of the twelfth Imam, Hujjat Ibn al-Hasan al-Askarī, may Allah bless them all.

Part of these supplications is as follows:

وَإنِّي وَإنْ لَمْ اقدِّمْ مَاقَدَّمُوهُ مِنَ الصَّالِحَاتِ فَقَدْ قَدَّمْتُ تَوْحِيدَكَ وَنَفْيَ الاضْدَادِ وَالانْدَادِ وَالاشْبَاهِ عَنْكَ، وَ أتَيْتُكَ مِنَ الابْوَابِ الَّتِي أمَرْتَ أنْ تُؤتَى مِنْهَا، وَتَقَرَّبْتُ إلَيْكَ بِمَا لَا يَقْرُبُ أحَدٌ مِنْكَ إلَّا بِالتَّقَرُّبِ بِهِ.

ثُمَّ أتْبَعْتُ ذَلِكَ بِالإنَابَةِ إلَيْكَ، وَالتَّذَلُّلِ وَالاسْتِكَانَةِ لَكَ، وَحُسْنِ الظَّنِّ بِكَ، وَالثِّقَةِ بِمَا عِنْدَكَ، وَ شَفَعْتُهُ بِرَجَائِكَ الَّذِي قَلَّ مَا يَخِيبُ عَلَيْهِ رَاجِيكَ.[31]

[O my God,] though I have not done good deeds that the righteous should do, I do believe in Your Unity and negate all Your opposites, rivals, and likenesses.

I have come to You through the gateways You have commanded that people come through. And I have sought nearness to You through the virtuous and deeds by which no one can seek Your nearness except through them!

Then I have followed all this with repeated turning toward You, lowliness and abasement before You, and belief and trust in what is with

> You, and to that I coupled confidence and hope in You, since the one who hopes in You is seldom disappointed.

The Imam continues his supplication until he arrives at this point:

بِحَقِّ مَنِ انْتَجَبْتَ مِنْ خَلْقِكَ، وَبِمَنِ اصْطَفَيْتَهُ لِنَفْسِكَ!
بِحَقِّ مَنِ اخْتَرْتَ مِنْ بَرِيَّتِكَ وَمَنِ اجْتَبَيْتَ لِشَأْنِكَ!
بِحَقِّ مَنْ وَصَلْتَ طَاعَتَهُ بِطَاعَتِكَ، وَمَنْ جَعَلْتَ مَعْصِيَتَهُ كَمَعْصِيَتِكَ!
بِحَقِّ مَنْ قَرَنْتَ مُوَالاتَهُ بِمُوَالاتِكَ، وَمَنْ نُطْتَ مُعَادَاتَهُ بِمُعَادَاتِكَ؛ تَغَمَّدْنِي فِي يَوْمِي هَذَا بِمَا تَتَغَمَّدُ بِهِ
مَنْ جَأَرَ إِلَيْكَ مُتَنَصِّلاً، وَعَاذَ بِاسْتِغْفَارِكَ تَائِباً.[32]

> ... by the right of him whom You distinguished among Your servants and chose for Yourself!
>
> By the right of him whom You selected from among Your servants and distinguished and picked him up for undertaking Your guardianship!
>
> By the right of him the obeying of whom You joined to the obeying of You, and the disobeying of whom You joined to the disobeying of You!
>
> And by the right of him whose friendship is bound to Your friendship and by him whose enmity is Your enmity!
>
> Shield me in this day of mine by that through which You shield him who prays fervently to You while disavowing anyone except you, and seeks refuge in Your forgiveness while repenting!

The Importance of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah*

The aforementioned are a few samples of the sublime supplications from *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah*, which has astonished scholars and made the shrewd in the world ponder and has drawn the attention of the sages to it and has made them accept it by all means and finally has made the mystics kneel down in its presence!

The great scholar Sayyid Ali-khān Kabīr Madanī Shirazi has written a wonderful commentary on *Ṣaḥīfah* and has explained many delicate literary imagery of its supplications. Mullā Muhammad Fayḍ Kashani has written a valuable annotation to *Ṣaḥīfah*, and Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn Āmilī and Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir Dāmād, known as Mir-Dāmād, have also written a very useful explanation of it. There

are two commentaries to *Ṣaḥīfah* taking a different approach by Āyatollāh Mudarrisī Chahārdehī and Āyatollāh Mīrzā Abu al-Hasan Sha'rānī.

The Opinion and Statement of Shaykh Jawharī Ṭanṭāwī about *Ṣaḥīfah*

Āyatollāh Abu al-Ma'ālī Sayyid Shahāb al-Dīn Mar'ashī Najafi has said:

> In 1353, I sent a copy of the noble *Ṣaḥīfah* to Āyatollāh Shaykh Jawharī Ṭanṭāwī, known as Muftī Iskandariyyah, the author of the famous *Tafsir al-Ṭanṭāwi*, to read and review. From Cairo, in response he wrote back to me a lengthy letter about his thoughts on this book as follows:
>
> وَمِنَ الشَّقَاءِ أَنَّا إِلَى الآنِ لَمْ نَقِفْ عَلَى هَذَا الأَثَرِ القَيِّمِ الخَالِدِ مِنْ مَوَارِيثِ النُّبُوَّةِ وَأَهْلِ البَيْتِ. وَ إِنِّي كُلَّمَا تَأَمَّلْتُهَا رَأَيْتُهَا فَوْقَ كَلَامِ المَخْلُوقِ وَدُونَ كَلَامِ الخَالِقِ ـ الى آخر ما قال.[33]
>
> It is due to our adversity and privation that we have not noticed this superb everlasting work from among the heritage of the Household of the Messenger! In fact as much as I have read it and pondered on its content, I have found that it is beyond the thoughts of the ordinary people and lower than God's words [Qur'an]!

Then he continues up to the end.

The most aware and learned researcher Sayyid Ali-Khān Kabīr,[34] in his book *Riyāḍ al-Sālikīn*, introduces *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah* as follows:

وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ هَذِهِ الصَّحِيفَةَ الشَّرِيفَةَ عَلَيْهَا مَسْحَةٌ مِنَ العِلْمِ الإِلَهِيِّ، وَفِيهَا عَبَقَةٌ مِنَ الكَلَامِ النَّبَوِيِّ. كَيْفَ لَا وَهِيَ قَبَسٌ مِنْ نُورِ مِشْكَوةِ الرِّسَالَةِ، وَنَفْحَةٌ مِنْ شَمِيمِ رِيَاضِ الإِمَامَةِ، حَتَّى قَالَ بَعْضُ العَارِفِينَ: إِنَّهَا تَجْرِي مَجْرَى التَّنْزِيلَاتِ السَّمَاوِيَّةِ، وَتَسِيرُ مَسِيرَ الصُّحُفِ اللَّوْحِيَّةِ وَالعَرْشِيَّةِ، لِمَا اشْتَمَلَتْ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ أَنْوَارِ حَقَائِقِ المَعْرِفَةِ وَثِمَارِ حَدَائِقِ الحِكْمَةِ. وَكَانَ أَخْيَارُ العُلَمَاءِ وَجَهَابِذُ القُدَمَاءِ مِنَ السَّلَفِ الصَّالِحِ يُلَقِّبُونَهَا بِزَبُورِ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَإِنْجِيلِ أَهْلِ البَيْتِ.

قَالَ الشَّيْخُ الجَلِيلُ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَلِيِّ بْنِ شَهْرَآشُوبَ فِي «مَعَالِمِ العُلَمَاءِ» فِي تَرْجَمَةِ المُتَوَكِّلِ بْنِ عُمَيْرٍ: رَوَى عَنْ يَحْيَى بْنِ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام دُعَاءَ الصَّحِيفَةِ وَتُلَقَّبُ بِزَبُورِ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ صلى الله عليه و آله و سلّم ـ انتهى.

وَأَمَّا بَلَاغَةُ بَيَانِهَا وَبَرَاعَةِ تِبْيَانِهَا فَعِنْدَهَا تَسْجُدُ سَحَرَةُ الْكَلَامِ، وَتَذْعَنُ بِالْعَجْزِ عَنْهَا مَدَارَةُ[35] الاعْلَامِ، وَتَعْتَرِفُ بِأَنَّ النُّبُوَّةَ غَيْرُ الْكِهَانَةِ وَلَا يَسْتَوِي الْحَقُّ وَالْبَاطِلُ فِي الْمَكَانَةِ؛ وَمَنْ حَامَ حَوْلَ سَمَائِهَا بِغَاسِقِ فِكْرِهِ الْوَاقِبِ رُمِيَ مِنْ رُجُومِ الْخِذْلَانِ بِشِهَابٍ ثَاقِبٍ.[36]

حَكَى ابْنُ شَهْرَآشُوبَ فِي مَنَاقِبِ آلِ أَبِيطَالِبٍ:: إِنَّ بَعْضَ الْبُلَغَاءِ بِالْبَصْرَةِ ذُكِرَتْ عِنْدَهُ الصَّحِيفَةُ الْكَامِلَةُ، فَقَالَ: خُذُوا عَنِّي حَتَّى امْلِيَ عَلَيْكُمْ مِثْلَهَا، فَأَخَذَ الْقَلَمَ وَأَطْرَقَ رَأْسَهُ فَمَا رَفَعَهُ حَتَّى مَاتَ. وَلَعَمْرِي لَقَدْ رَامَ شَطَطاً فَنَالَ سَخَطاً.[37]

> You should know that certainly there is specified divine knowledge on this noble *Ṣaḥīfah*, and there is a scent of prophetic words in it. Why should it not be so, while we smell spiritual perfume from the garden of the Imamate, as the men of wisdom and the mystics have said that the *Ṣaḥīfah* is just from where the divine inspiration has come to people; it is similar to those sacred books that have been revealed and sent down to the earth by the Almighty Allah; it is because its contents consist of divine illuminating statements—they are the ripe fruits from the gardens of wisdom. And the scholars and experts have called it the Psalm of Muhammad and his family, and the Bible of the Household.

Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Shahr Āshūb, in *Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā*, under the biography of Mutawakkil Ibn Omayr, says: "He has narrated from Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd Ibn Ali the supplication of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, which is known as the Psalm of the Household of Muhammad."

However, the *Ṣaḥīfah* is of such priority and eloquence that the majestic orators and imposing men of literature fell humble and prostrate before its lofty position. The scholars confess their inability to produce a short sentence of it and announce that such divine words are beyond man's power.

Ibn Shahr Āshūb has narrated in *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*:

> Once when in the presence of some scholars in Baṣra, people were discussing *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*, and one scholar said: "I will now dictate something like this book for you, and you write it down." Then he got his pen and leant forward to write. He went on and on writing until he died in the same position. I swear by my soul that he infringed upon the truth and was faced with Allah's wrath.

Muḥaddith Qumi says that the *Ṣaḥīfah* is given the title of Muhammad's Psalm and the Bible of the Household. It is also called Okht al-Qur'an (the sister of the Qur'an). Having narrated a story

about a scholar from Baṣra and his death for not being able to produce a parallel example to *Ṣaḥīfah*, Qumi says:

> On the rightfulness of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*, Sayyid Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Ḥaydar Musawī in his book *Tanbīh Wasan al-'Ayn* says: "This is the very famous *Ṣaḥīfah* that is with the people and that they use." He then says:
>
> وَفِيهَا مِنَ الْبَلاَغَةِ وَالإِخْبَاتِ مَا يَقَعُ عَنْ مُعَارَضَتِهِ بِمَا يُقَارِبُهُ إِلْيَاس.
>
> > Within this book (the *Ṣaḥīfah*) we have eloquent supplications that teach us the highest level of humility and submission to Allah. This level of humbleness and submission is very hard to attain, and even the Prophet Ilyās was not be able to reach that stage. The above-mentioned is narrated by Zaydiyyah and Imamiyyah through their chains. Ibn Ḥamdūn Nadīm in his famous *Tadhkirah* has also narrated some of it with a different chain. Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Murshidī in his book *Barā't al-Istihlāl* has narrated the supplication on sighting the full moon.[38]

Ibn Shahr Āshūb quotes Ghazzālī as saying: "The first book on events in Islam published was Ibn Jurayḥ's book on history and *Ḥurūf al-Tafāsīr* by Mujāhid and 'Aṭā in Mecca. After them the book of Ma'mar Ibn Rāshid Ṣan'ānī in Yemen, and then the book of *Muwaṭṭa'* in Medina by Mālik Ibn Anas and *al-Jāmi'* by Sufyān Thawrī."

However, according to historical evidence, the first person in Islam who compiled a book was Imam Ali, who collected the verses of the Qur'an. After him were Salmān Fārsī, Abūdhar Ghifārī, Aṣbagh Ibn Nubātih, Ubaydullah Ibn Abi Rāfi', and then Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn, whose supplications formed *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*.

Shaykh Mufīd says: "The Imamate, since the time of Ali up to the time of Abu Muhammad al-Hasan al-Askarī, wrote four hundred books, which are known as the four hundred principles (*Uṣūl Arba'a Mi'ah*). This is the meaning of principle here."[39]

Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr says: "The second level of the writers in Islam starts with Sajjād Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, Zayn al-'Ābidīn. His *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* is known as the Psalm of the Household, from which Imam Abu Ja'far al-Bāqir and Zayd narrated."

After mentioning what we narrated from Shahr Āshūb, Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr[40] says: "I would say, the *Ṣaḥīfah* is received from the Imam through several sources, and in term of authenticity of the chain of narrations, it is like the Qur'an among Muslim scholars."[41]

In any case, reading, reciting, and practicing the supplications and prayers of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah* are quite common

among the pious and spiritual wayfarers. The saints and sages take its lofty contents as a guide for their spiritual practices. They memorize and recite its supplications in their communing with God. Through constant reading of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*, they give way to silent prayer dealing with their needs; and in this way they find a secret contact with the Holy Creator and wipe the devil's rust away from their passions and desires; and finally they become pure and free from the load of the passions! Then as a result such people become saints, sages, the learned, wise men, and mystics, leaving their passions behind and annihilated in the realm of divinity. They do not only illuminate themselves but lead society to purity and spirituality.

The First Majlisī's Nightly Dream of the *Ṣaḥīfah*

Now I would like to mention a story from my maternal great-grandfather about Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī, so that our souls become fresher by hearing it, and in this way, we ponder our fate in this and the next world by reading the transcendent teachings of prayers and supplications in the *Ṣaḥīfah.* I dare to swear by the Almighty Allah that no one can find the straight path by just practicing routine and daily rituals or even by becoming a master of religious knowledge.

The second Majlisī has narrated this story in *Bihār al-Anwār* volume 110, in the book of *al-Ijāzāt* (permissions), page 61, no 41, where he has mentioned the permission of his father, Muhammad Taqī Majlisī (the first Majlisī) from Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn Āmilī for narrating the hadith. He says:

> When I was quite a young boy, I always used to remember God, and all my intentions and efforts were to make Him be pleased with me. One night in my dream I visited the Imam of our time and the caliph of the Merciful Allah, Imam Mahdi. In my dream, I asked him a few questions, and then I told him: "O son of the Prophet! Obviously I cannot stay with you all the time, so please recommend to me a book so that I can read it and practice my religious duties."[42] The Imam presented me an old version of the *Ṣaḥīfah.* Then when I woke up, I searched for that old version, and finally I found that book in the library of a pious man called Aqā Ghadīr. I borrowed it and took it to Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn Muhammad to compare with a version of the *Ṣaḥīfah* in his library. Having read both versions many times, I edited and rewrote the old version. Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn's copy was originally from his great-grandfather Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muhammad (Shahīd al-Awwal), who had already described his *Ṣaḥīfah* as follows:

> I have written this *Ṣaḥīfah* from the book of the Martyr (Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muhammad), and the Shahīd al-Awwal had said that he wrote it from a copy of Sadīdī, and he had said that he wrote it from a hand-written book of Ali Ibn Sukūn, and he also wrote it from Amīd al-Ru'asā. I also compared it with a copy belonging to Ibn Idrīs. Now through the help and blessing of the Imam Mahdi, the best version of the *Ṣaḥīfah* is published throughout Muslim countries. In Isfahan, one cannot find a home that has not a copy of this version of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. This widespread publication means the rightfulness of that dream—praise be to Allah for His great blessing upon His servants!

However, we are going to address another version of this story narrated by Āyatollāh Āqā Mīrzā Muhammad Ali Mudarrisī Chahārdehī Rashtī, which is published in the introduction of his own Persian edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. He has commenced his commentary on this *Ṣaḥīfah* as follows: "In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful, praise be to Allah, the Lord of all beings, and Allah bless our Master Muhammad and his pure Household." And then he goes on quoting Nīl Ābādī, Muhammad Ali Ibn Naṣīr al-Jīlānī, saying:

> It was the month of Ramaḍān al-Mubārak in Medina in 1304 AH. We were sitting in the noble shrine of Murtaḍawī at the time of sunset, and the great respectable Sayyid, the pious and most humble Taqī Āqā Sayyid Mīrzā Isfahani, was reading the book of Ākhund Mullā Muhammad Taqī Majlisī for me. Among the names of many teachers, there was the name of Shaykh Bahā'ī. When he mentioned Shaykh Bahā'ī, he narrated a hadith about him, the hadith that I myself had come across in the *Ṣaḥīfah* written by his own hand-writing.

Majlisī narrates a summary of the hadith as follows:

> When I was quite young, I was fond of performing the midnight prayer; however, I was concerned about my missed obligatory prayers, wondering if I had to make up for those I might have missed. So I put forward my concern to Shaykh Bahā'ī. He stated: "Each night, instead of midnight prays, pray thirteen units of your missed obligatory prayers." However, I had a feeling that midnight prayer would put me in a spiritual mood that making the missed prayer would not.

Muhammad Taqī Majlisī in another story says:

> One night in a dream, I saw the pole of the world and the friend of God, the Holiness Imam Mahdi, standing in the fruit market that was next to the grand mosque of Isfahan.

I was delighted with such a great opportunity and immediately went toward the Imam to greet him and show him my courtesy. I then asked him some questions. The first question I asked him was about the mid-night prayers. The noble Imam told me: "Perform it!"

Then I had the honor to inform him: "O son of the Messenger of Allah, I might not be able to visit you again, so please give me a book to read and act upon."

He said: "Now go to Muhammad Tājā" (assuming I know this person, he said) "and ask him for the book you want."

I went to that person and got the book, and at once I began reading it while I was weeping!

At this time I woke up and realized all this happened in my dream and became very sad. I was then thinking about the name of the person that the Imam mentioned and I guessed that Muhammad Tājā might be Shaykh Bahā'ī, because the term "Tājā" means the master of Shari'ah, the position the Shaykh had at that time.

The next morning, after performing my prayer, I rushed to see Shaykh Bahā'ī. When I got there I saw that he was sitting in his classroom with Sayyid Dhulfaqār Ali Jurfādiqānī (Golpāygānī). They were holding a lesson and discussion about the *Ṣaḥīfah.*

I waited for a while, and when they finished the lesson, I explained my spiritual situation and my request on this matter. In response, he said: "God willing you will achieve your desire."

Therefore, I left him and went to the very place that I had dreamed about the Imam. I went there in great cheer and excitement, and when I reached there I noticed Āqā Hasan Tājā, whom I knew well, standing by the mosque. When he caught sight of me, he said: "O Mullā Muhammad Taqī! I am fed up with the students who borrow books from me but do not return them! Now let's go to my house; I want to give you some books that were donated to me by Āqā Qadīr!"

He unlocked the door of a room, saying: "Take any book you want to!"

I touched a book at random, took it, and opened it to see what it was. To my great surprise ,I saw that it was the same book the Holiness Imam had offered me the night before! It was *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*! I burst into tears and stood up to leave.

He told me: "Take some more books if you want to."

I answered: "No, this is more than enough to me!"

After that, I began teaching it to people while at the same time working on the book, editing and comparing it with other editions. Through the immense benefits of this book, many of the people benefited from its sublime ethical content and spiritual supplications.[43]

The second Majlisī states that he was involved in promoting the *Ṣaḥīfah* for forty years, so the existence of a copy of this volume in many houses is due to the efforts of this great scholar.

Āyatollāh Mudarrisī Chahārdehī says: "This Majlisī's story motivated me to translate the *Ṣaḥīfah* into Fārsī so that ordinary people can benefit of it."[44]

Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah is one of those books that have been widely and frequently transmitted. In this respect, it is like *al-Kāfī* by Kulaynī and *al-Tahdhīb* by Shaykh Ṭūsī. There is no doubt that the supplications of the *Ṣaḥīfah* belong to Imam Sayyid al-Sājidīn Zayn al-'Ābidīn, because the chain of narrators from the beginning are all authentic Imami scholars. They have preached on it and protect it and hand it one to another without making any changes to it.

According to Ja'far Ibn Muhammad Hasani, the total of supplications of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* are seventy-five. Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn, from the narrator of Hasani's narration, says:

Eleven supplications are missing in own my edition, so I am now narrating only sixty-four of them. However, according to Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muslim Muṭahharī, there are only fifty-four supplications. This is the number we have in existing editions of the *Ṣaḥīfah*; therefore, there are twenty-one missing supplications from the original *Ṣaḥīfah*. The Imami scholars made some efforts to find the missing supplications and add them to the original edition as an appendix. In order to keep the original as it was, they did not add them to the main content of the book.

I personally have an edition of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* edited by Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kashani that was completed by Fayḍ in 1091 AH. In this edition, we see fourteen extra supplications that were added to this version by Mullā Taqī Sufi Ziyā Ābādī Qazvini, who was one of Shaykh Bahā'ī's students. I received this edition from my late father.[45]

As we know, the demise of Shaykh Bahā'ī was in 1030, so the collection of these supplications should be before the compilation of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thāniyah* by Shaykh Ḥurr Āmilī and *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thālithah* by Mīrzā Abdullah Afandī.

On this basis, we have compelling evidence that the edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah* that was compiled after *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* is the edition called *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thāniyah al-Sajjādiyyah.* We have to also consider Shaykh Ḥurr's *Ṣaḥīfah* as a later edition, although Shaykh Ḥurr's *Ṣaḥīfah* is nowadays known among the people as *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thāniyah*, so we refer to it by this title.

Ṣaḥīfah al-Thānīyah al-Sajjādiyyah, compiled by Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ḥurr Āmilī (d. 1104 AH), the Author of _al-Wasā'il al-Shi'a_

Mīrzā Abdullah Isfahani Afandī, in the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thālithat*, says:

> Our contemporary, the great scholar and master in the knowledge of hadiths, al-Shaykh Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, who is blessed by God, has done his best to collect and return to *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah Sajjādiyyah* any supplications that originally belonged to the Holy Imam in his Book. He also collected other supplications that he came across in a new edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah* and called it *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thāniyyah* (the second *Ṣaḥīfah*).

Shaykh Ḥurr thought that none of the scholars had compiled those supplications before him and assumed that the Imam's supplications in *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah Sajjādiyyah* had been set aside by other scholars, but in fact his assumption was not correct, because some of his contemporary scholars have taken the lead. The names and biography of these scholars have been mentioned in *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā.*

The proof for this claim is the existence of many of the Imam's supplications in the first edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah* that are not in the second *Ṣaḥīfah.*

Shaykh Ḥurr has similar thoughts in his book *Jawāhir al-Sanniyyah fī Jam' al-Aḥādith al-Qudsiyyah*. In this book, he says that he had made the acquaintance of some *Aḥādith al-Qudsiyyah*s that no one else had come across before him. This obviously cannot be correct, because other scholars have already compiled the narrations as *Aḥādith al-Qudsiyyah*s even more than Shaykh Ḥurr. However, we must admit that the Shaykh is the first to bring all these hadiths into one compendium.[46]

Allāmah Shaykh Āqā Bozorg Tehrani, after introducing *Ṣaḥīfah Thāniyah*, says: "Some colleagues have told me that Shaykh Muham-

mad Ibn Ali Harfūshī, who died forty years before Shaykh Ḥurr, compiled *Ṣaḥīfah Thāniyah."*

Therefore, we should call Shaykh Ḥurr's *Ṣaḥīfah* the third one, and the edition after that must be taken as the fourth one.[47] We may also say that the author of *Rīyāḍ* probably believed that al-Harfūshī was the compiler of the second edition, so he rejected Shaykh Ḥurr's claim to be the first to compile this edition.

Muḥaddith Jazā'irī, in the beginning of annotation in the *Ṣaḥīfah*, says: "When Shaykh Ḥurr collected some of the supplications of Imam Sajjād, they became as many as the *Ṣaḥīfah* itself, so he called them *Okht al-Ṣaḥīfah* (the sister of *Ṣaḥīfah*), as after collecting the *Aḥādith al-Qudsiyyah*, he called his collection *Okht al-Qur'an*."

Shaykh Ḥurr has collected his *Ṣaḥīfaht al-Thāniyyah* from authorized sources mentioned in the margins of his edition. He finished it at the end of the month of Ramaḍān, 1053 AH.[48]

Ṣaḥīfah al-Thālithah Sajjādiyyah, compiled by Mīrzā Abdullah Afandī, the author of *Rīyāḍ al-'Ulamā*, the Most Eminent Student of Allāmah Majlisī

Mīrzā Abdullah, son of Īsā, son of Muhammad Ṣāliḥ Tabrizi Isfahani, known as Afandī, was a great scholar in the twelfth century, who in his edition of *Ṣaḥīfah* questioned Shaykh Muḥaddith Āmilī's claim on his full investigation of the supplications of Imam Sajjād. Afandī's arguments have been published in the fifth edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah* (*Ṣaḥīfah al-Khāmisah*). Afandī's edition is recorded in *al-Dharī'ah* by Āqā Bozorg Tehrani, published in Tehran in 1364 AH under the title *al-Durar al-Manzūmah al-Ma'thūra*.[49,50]

The Late Afandī, in his edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, after mentioning an interesting sermon from Imam al-Sajjād, says:

> There are some missing supplications and sermons in the first and second editions of the *Ṣaḥīfah;* I decided to compile the third *Ṣaḥīfah* and collect those missing sections. Given this point, Afandī questions Āmilī's assertion and believes it is very unlikely not to miss any supplication in compiling his edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. One of the ways in which his edition is superior to Shaykh Ḥurr Āmilī's edition is that he has mentioned the original sources of his supplications, while Shaykh Ḥurr has not mentioned the sources. Although the Late Shaykh was a very reliable scholar in the science of hadiths, having the sources is definitely an advantage of our edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. In our *Ṣaḥīfah*, we have added twenty-one new supplications that are missing from *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*. However, Shaykh Ḥurr has narrated the supplications from their narra-

tors without mentioning their chain to the Imam, and he probably assumed he did not need to mention the complete chain up to the Imam.

Sayyid Afandī continues:

> Whatever supplications we have gone through during our journeys and then compared with *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah Sajjādiyyah*, we found there were great differences between them. There were also differences in spelling, numbers, styles, and pronunciation and so on. Similarly, we have found many supplications of Imam Sajjād in many great Shi'a scholars' books that are different in terms of content, spelling, and formatting, some of which have spelling errors.
>
> In this *Third Ṣaḥīfah*, first we focus our discussion of those noble supplications that are missing in the original *Ṣaḥifah*. Second, we give priority to those supplications that are directly narrated from Ali Ibn al-Husayn and are not mentioned in the first and second *Ṣaḥīfahs*. However, we postpone our critical discussion on the difference among supplications to the future when we will write annotations to the second *Ṣaḥīfah*.
>
> In the existing common edition of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*, which is known as *Rawāyat al-Muṭahharī*, by Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muslim Muṭahharī, the number of supplications is fifty-four, while the number of supplications in the appendix of this common edition is seventy-five.
>
> It is narrated that Mutawakkil told Hārūn, who was one of the narrators of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*, that nearly ten supplications have been eliminated from the book! So about sixty supplications remain. It seems that some of the supplications added to this *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* are those deleted supplications—God knows more!
>
> And we call this *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* the *Third Ṣaḥīfah*. We may also name it *al-Durar al-Manzūmah al-Ma'thūrah fi Jam' La'āli al-Ad'iyyah al-Sajjādiyyat al-Mashhūrah*.

Afandī then says: "We first mention those missing twenty-one supplications and then add other missing supplications and sections."[51]

The Fourth *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* Compiled by Ḥājj Mīrzā Husayn Ibn Taqī Nūrī (d. 1320 AH, 27th Jamādi al-Ākhar)

Mīrzā Husayn Nūrī has collected seventy-seven new supplications and added them to his edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah*.[52]

He says: "I, the shamefaced and poor servant [of God], Husayn Ibn Muhammad Taqī Nūrī Ṭabarsī, say: This *Fourth Ṣaḥīfah* is a refined and complete collection that I have gathered from different sources. These new supplications are missing in previous editions of *Ṣaḥīfahs*, i.e., *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thāniyah* by Ḥurr Āmilī and *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thālithah* by Āqā Mīrzā Abdullah Iṣfahāni."

Mīrzā Abdullah Isfahani, referring to Shaykh Ḥurr, says: "Shaykh Ḥurr has claimed a thorough investigation and has added many supplications that he encountered in other sources, while there are still some missing supplications, but I [Āqā Mīrzā Abdullah] have collected those that were hidden from Shaykh Ḥurr; as [the poet says], the star Suhā will be seen by our eyes in the sky although it is too small."[53]

Āqā Mīrzā Abdullah has also added some poetic supplications attributed to Imam Sajjād, which in fact are not at the level of other supplications in terms of Arabic language. At the end of the book, he says: "This is the last part of our collection of *Sajjādiyyah*—peace be upon their initiator—which were taken from the two previous famous editions of the blessed *Ṣaḥīfah*."[54]

It is worth mentioning here that the objection of the author of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thālithah* to *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thāniyah* about the missing references refers to a couple of the supplications like *monājāt-i khamsat ashar*; otherwise, all the other supplications in Shaykh Ḥurr's edition have references.

Finally, let it not go unnoticed:

كَمْ تَرَكَ الاوَّلُ لِلآخِر.

"How great [the many sciences and] knowledge the predecessor has left behind for the oncoming generations!"[55]

The Fifth *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*, compiled by Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn Husayni Āmilī (1282–1371 AH)

Sayyid Muḥsin Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Amīn Husayni Āmilī's edition was published in 1330 AH. This fifth edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah* includes the whole third and fourth *Ṣaḥīfah* and some extra supplications. The author completed his work in 1323, and it consists of 182 supplications, of which 52 do not exist in the third and fourth *Ṣaḥīfah*.[56]

Muḥsin Amīn, in the beginning of his *Ṣaḥīfah*, after praising Allah and asking His blessing upon the Household, states:

As my fate made me leave my hometown and live in Damascus in 1323, I found an opportunity to review the *Second Ṣaḥīfah* and write an annotation and a commentary on it in order to make clear difficult sections and some unknown subjects for my brothers who had already requested from me to do so. This second edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah* is the one that our great Shaykh, Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Husayn Ḥurr Āmilī, the author of *Wasā'il al-Shi'a,* has already compiled.'

Muḥsin Amīn continues, saying:

I have collected those extra sections from well-known scholars. As at that time there were not any reliable copies of the two old *Ṣaḥīfah*s available to me, I referred to some old manuscripts that consist of the supplications, and by chance I encountered some supplications from Imam Sajjād that were neither in the first *Ṣaḥīfah* nor in the second one. Assuming that these supplications were only a few, I decided to complete the second *Ṣaḥīfah* by adding them to it. However, after more investigation, I realized there are many missing supplications even in the second *Ṣaḥīfah,* so I decided to compile a new version of the *Ṣaḥīfah.*

Therefore I decided, by relying on Allah's mercy and blessing, to collect all those supplications into a separate book. I collected some seventy supplications that were not mentioned in the first and the second *Ṣaḥīfah.* Then I continued my investigation and I found out there was a third edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah* that I had not yet seen, so I decided to travel in the hope of finding this edition. I asked friends and colleagues, and finally, with the assistant the Almighty Allah, I acquired useful information about the place that I might find it.

I finally found the third *Ṣaḥīfah.* This wonderful version was compiled by the most learned man, Āqā Mīrzā Abdullah Ibn Īsā Ibn Muhammad Ṣāliḥ Isfahani, known as Afandī, the author of *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā.*[57] Afandī is an eminent student of 'Allāmah al-Majlisī and the contemporary to Shaykh Ḥurr Āmilī, the author of *Wasā'il al-Shi'a.*

I continued my investigation and came across a fourth edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah.* This edition was compiled by the great scholar Āqā Mīrzā Husayn Ibn Muhammad Taqī Ṭabarsī Nūrī, the author of the famous book *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il,* who first lived in Sāmira and then emigrated to Mashhad. He lived in this city until the end of his life. Nūrī collected new supplications that do not exist in previous editions of *Ṣaḥīfahs,* as a maxim saying:

كَمْ تَرَكَ الأَوَّلُ لِلآخِرِ

"How great [a knowledge] is left from the first [nation] to the next ones!"

After I reviewed all four editions of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, I realized there are still some supplications from the Imam that are missing in them, so I firstly decided to gather only the new supplications in a separate book as the fifth *Ṣaḥīfah (al-Ṣaḥīfat al-Khāmisah)* without mentioning the supplications already narrated in the other versions, but later I changed my mind because of two reasons:

Firstly, I had already worked on many supplications in other editions, made commentary and annotation on them from the beginning to the end, and put them in a proper order. If I did not present them in my edition beside my own new supplications, then my efforts would be wasted .

Secondly, I wanted to let the readers know that I am aware of other editions, their quality, and what new things they can find in my edition. In this way, readers will be able compare the fifth *Ṣaḥīfah* with the previous *Ṣaḥīfahs* and understand the advantages of my edition.

For these two reasons I decided to include the content of old versions in my *Ṣaḥīfah*. Therefore, all the supplications and lamentations of this *Ṣaḥīfah* come to 183, 55 of which were collected by me. We took 31 supplications from the third *Ṣaḥīfah* and 29 from the fourth one and the rest from the first and second *Ṣaḥīfah*.

When I started my investigation on the existing *Ṣaḥīfahs*, I would never have believed that one could achieve something beyond them, because the compilers of the old *Ṣaḥīfahs* were very popular and well-known scholars and the most learned people of their time. Their *Ṣaḥifah* was perhaps the most important business of their lives.

The strangest thing is that I did find the missing sections from the old versions in the sources that were available to those scholars. This incident is really odd, because, for example, the compiler of the third *Ṣaḥīfah* was a scholar who was able to identify the author of a manuscript by content only, so if a manuscript did not have any information about the author or had a missing first page, he was able to say who the author was and when it was written. The compiler of the fourth *Ṣaḥīfah* also had this expertise, and I am aware of his vast knowledge of the manuscripts.

Despite all this, many section and supplications of the Imam have been overlooked by such skillful scholars, and Allah bestowed His blessing upon me and helped me to do in my life something beyond them and made this task possible to me, as the Holy Qur'an says:

ذَٰلِكَ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ يُؤْتِيهِ مَن يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ ذُو الْفَضْلِ الْعَظِيمِ.

Such is the bounty of Allah; He grants it to anyone He desires, for Allah is the Owner of the splendid bounty (62: 4).

In any case, whatever I have said about my success is in fact my gratitude to His Grace and Favor to me, because I know that I had no such strength in this battlefield. God granted such a great opportunity, as He is the Glorified, Who commanded the Ark of Noah to settle on the smallest mount around.

Muḥsin Amīn continues:

The compiler of the fourth *Ṣaḥīfah* says:

If I did not inspire from this statement:

كَمْ تَرَكَ الأَوَّلُ لِلآخِرِ.

"How great [a knowledge] is left from the first [nation] to the next ones," after the struggle and hard work of the great scholars such as Ḥurr Āmilī and Fāḍil Isfahani, I would never believe that I might be able to compile this edition.

Now if this statement is restated by such a great man with such experience and knowledge, what must I [Muḥsin Amīn], the most humble servant, say!

And I am not such a person as to claim that I have overcome all the supplications of the Holiness, and probably whatever I have missed collecting are more than what I have brought together! Given this point, I suspect that I have made it easy for the oncoming generations to add their new findings and collections to it. As for me, I added my little knowledge to the vast works of the preceding scholars. It is because the knowledge of the Household is not limited; it is much greater than can be assessed. Why should it not be so? Their knowledge is the main source; it is related to the divine knowledge! What is unveiled to us is more than what has reached us. The Holiness Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn's prayers, whispered prayers, and supplications are beyond reckoning. Above all, the compiler of the third *Ṣaḥīfah* says: "Most of our prayer books and the hadiths of our old companions are lost; there remains no sign of them! Therefore, how can we claim that we can count all the supplications and prayers of the Imam?" He adds: "But I did my best to bring together as many as I could."[58]

Here the late Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn addresses nine general points regarding his work, and then he mentions the supplications. In his fourth point he says:

> Know that first I was only going to collect the supplications and had no intention of having a critical discussion on the authenticity of their chains. To make them shorter, I also did not mention their original sources. In addition, the sources have already been addressed in books—I have taken them from other editions—and this was the method that the compiler of the second *Ṣaḥīfah* used as well.
>
> Apart from this, the rule of "being flexible in the evidence for narration on preferable religious ritual (*mustaḥab*)" is also applied to supplications, so it did not seem useful to mention their sources and chains.[59]

The author of the fifth *Ṣaḥīfah*, Sayyid Amīn, says:

> How well the author of the third *Ṣaḥīfah* in the beginning of the first sermon has said:
>
> إنَّ أهْلَ عَصرِنا لَمْ يَعتَمِدُوا عَلى مَراسِيلِ أمْثالِنا إلّا وَقَدْ بَلِيَتْ عِظامُنا وَطالَ زَمانُ وَفاتِنا.
>
> "Certainly the people of our time do not trust our hadiths until we die and our bones turn into ashes, after a long period of time passes after our demise!"
>
> In these clarifying points, I [Sayyid Amīn] try to explain that the method of our contemporary in narrating the hadiths has the same standard as the old narrators had; however, usually people underestimate their contemporary scholars, so the merit and knowledge of a scholar remains unknown to the people of his own time until after his death, even a long time after he passes away.
>
> Therefore, the author of the fourth *Ṣaḥīfah* criticizes the author of the second *Ṣaḥīfah* for not mentioning the sources of the supplications, while he has made the same mistake and has not mentioned the sources of many supplications in his own *Ṣaḥīfah*.
>
> Given this problem in previous versions, I [Sayyid Amīn] decided to mention the chains and names of the sources I was deriving the necessary hadiths from; it was mostly to avoid objections from others, but also because the sources of hadiths are always very useful information for readers and researchers.[60]

In the ninth explanatory point, Sayyid Amīn states:

> Let it be known that most of the supplications that we have put in this book are collected from the famous reliable books, although the fluency of the words and their lofty meanings are the strongest proofs for their validity. Nevertheless, some of them have neither such strong chains of narrators nor a fluent language, but I still put them in my collection, be-

cause I had no evidence to prove they are not reliable. Thus we collected them as they were and left the responsibility with their narrators in the original source, may the narrators of all these supplications benefit from God's grace.[61] However, we encountered a number of sections that are definitely not from the Imam, because they contain some indecent words. It is strange that he believes they are received from authentic eloquent sources! And apart from this, some of the poems have the problem of repetition in rhymes. An example of this is the poem that the author of the fourth *Ṣaḥīfah* narrates:

أَلَمْ تَسْمَعْ بِفَضْلِكَ يَامُنَائِى دُعَاءً مِنْ ضَعِيفٍ مُبْتَلَاءِ

"O Lord, have You not heard by Your kindness the prayers of this weak poor [servant]!" The same problem is found in all the lines of this poem.

And similar to this one is a prayer, a poetic supplication narrated from some scholars. The beginning is:

إِلَيْكَ يَارَبِّ قَدْ وَجَّهْتُ حَاجَاتِي وَجِئْتُ بَابَكَ يَارَبِّ بِحَاجَاتِي

"O Lord, I have turned my face to You for my needs, and I have come to your door, O Lord, for my needs."

It goes up to line eleven, and all the lines appear ugly because of the repetitiveness of their words.

Part of line three has a problem in Arabic:

أَنْتَ الْعَلِيمُ بِمَا يَحْوِى الضَّمِيرُ بِهِ

"You are the Knower of what the heart gathers," and some copies say:

وَارْحَمْ ذُنُوبِي بِمَا أَخْطَأْتُ وَارْحَمْنِي

"...and mercy on my sins that I have committed and be Merciful on me!"

The only reason for mentioning this kind of poem is that the author of the fourth *Ṣaḥīfah* did not have a high mastery of the Arabic language.

A poetic prayer that we have found in Muhammad Ṭabīb's book, which other *Ṣaḥīfahs* have not mentioned, is similar. It begins as follows:

اجِلُّكَ عَنْ تَعْذِيبِ مِثْلِى عَلَى ذَنْبٍ وَلَا نَاصِرٌ لِي غَيْرُ نَصْرِكَ يَارَبِّ

"O Lord! I praise You for punishing a sinful servant like me, and there is no aid for me but Your assistant O my Lord!" The poem goes up to line fifteen, which one feels ashamed to attribute to the Imam, because it is composed by someone to whom the Arabic language is alien.

And there is one more with a similar problem:

وَأَنَا عَبْدُكَ الْمَحْقُورُ فِي عِظَمِ شَأْنِكُم.

"I am the most humble servant of Your Lofty position."

وَتَقْلِبُنِي مِنْ ظَهْرِ آدَمَ نُطْفَةً   احَدَّرُ فِي قَعْرٍ صَرِيحٍ مِنَ الصُّلْبِ
فَأَخْرَجْتَنِي مِنْ ضِيقِ قَعْرٍ بِمَنِّكُم

"And rolled me over and over, as sperm, in the back-bone of Adam, where I was inclined in the depth of his loins; You brought me out, [created] me with Your favor from that minute depth."

Other lines of the poem are as follows:

فَحَاشَاكَ فِي تَعْظِيمِ شَأْنِكَ وَالْعُلَى   تُعَذِّبُ مَحْقُوراً بِإِحْسَانِكُمْ رَبِّي
لِلآثَارِ أَيْنَا فِي الانَامِ مُعَظَّماً   تَجَلَّى عَنِ الْمَحْقُورِ فِي الْحَبْسِ وَالضَّرْب

"So, O my Lord, it is far from Your kindness to punish a servant who is too weak to pay homage to Your Lofty position, for indeed I dream of Your lofty position appearing with glory upon this servant in a dungeon."

And there are a great many other nonsensical poems.[62]

After the above explanation, Muḥsin Amīn addresses 183 supplications and prayers of Imam Sajjād, especially the twenty-one missing supplications from *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*. He has mentioned each of the new supplications in its proper place and in logical order. He also shows which sections are missing in the third *Ṣaḥīfah* of Afandī and the fourth *Ṣaḥīfah* of Nūrī in order to make it clear which sections specifically belong to his own edition. In addition, he explains which sections are mentioned in other *Ṣaḥīfahs*.

May Allah reward him for his faith, understanding, and illumination from the initiator of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, Sayyid al-Sājidīn, Zayn al-'Ābidīn, the best peace and blessing be upon him.

The Sixth *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* Compiled by Shaykh Muhammad Ṣāliḥ Mīrzā Faḍlullah al-Mazandarani al-Ḥā'irī (Born in 1297 AH, as Mentioned in the Index)

Āyatollāh Najafi Mar'ashī, in his notes on the introduction of Sayyid Muhammad Mishkāt to the Fārsī commentary of Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn Balāghī, does not mention Mazandarani al-Ḥā'irī as the author of the sixth *Ṣaḥīfah*, but Mar'ashī lists the other three *Ṣaḥīfahs* along with their authors and catalogue numbers as follows:

> The sixth *Ṣaḥīfah* is compiled by our jurist, Shaykh al-Muḥaddith Ḥājj Shaykh Muhammad Bāqir Ibn Muhammad Hasan Birjandi Ghā'imī.
>
> The seventh *Ṣaḥīfah* is compiled by our Shaykh al-'Allāmah Hadī Ibn Abbās Āl-i Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' Najafi, the author of *Mustadrak Nahj al-Balāghah* and some other works.
>
> The eighth *Ṣaḥīfah* is compiled by our Shaykh al-'Allāmah Ḥājj Mīrzā Ali Husayni Mar'ashī Shahristānī Ḥā'irī.[63]

Now, if we add the above-mentioned sixth *Ṣaḥīfah* by Ḥā'irī, which is listed in *al-Dharī'ah,* to the three *Ṣaḥīfah*s mentioned by Mar'ashī, and then add the *Ṣaḥīfah* of Mullā Muhammad Taqī Ṣūfī Zarābādī Qazvini, then the total number of *Ṣaḥīfah*s becomes ten.

But we must determine whether these four *Ṣaḥīfahs* have something extra that is missing from the fifth *Ṣaḥīfah* of Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn. They may have no extra section, because these authors were contemporary with Muḥsin Amīn and were not aware of the fifth *Ṣaḥīfah,* so they could add something to their editions that had been already been done by Muḥsin Amīn.

Al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah al-Jāmi'ah

A collection called *al-Ṣaḥīfah al Sajjādiyyah al-Jāmi'ah* has recently been published. This collection was edited by a group researchers in Ḥawzah al-'Ilmiyyah in Qum. This book consists of all the supplications of previous *Ṣaḥīfahs,* including *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* (the first), the second, the third, the fourth, and the fifth *Ṣaḥīfah,* as well as some other supplications that are in none of these editions. This copy is published with very high-quality paper, cover, and printing. It comes with fourteen different indexes at the end of the book, and a lengthy explanation about the authenticity of all the chains of the sources, which ultimately go back to the time of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn.

Above all, this edition puts the supplications in order of theme, so that readers can easily find any supplication they are looking for.

However, in my opinion, there is a problem in this superb edition. The problem is that the original supplications of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* are mixed up with the other supplications from other *Ṣaḥīfahs,* so one cannot recognize them unless one refers to the indexes at the end of the book.

Therefore, someone who wants to recite a supplication of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* has no way of finding it without referring to its related

index; even in the index, it only says the page number of supplication, so there is no alphabetic list of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*'s supplications with page numbers in this book.

It is quite clear that the supplications of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* (the first *Ṣaḥīfah*), compared with other supplications in other *Ṣaḥīfahs*, are more valid than supplications in other *Ṣaḥīfahs* and benefit from a higher quality in terms of meaning, fluency, chains, and references.

Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah has a strong consecutive chain that has remained safe since the time of the Imam up to now, and the great scholars and historians have given especial attention to it as they do to *Nahj al-Balāghah*.

Majlisī, in the chapter *Ijāzāt* in *Biḥār al-Anwār* has narrated *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* in different ways. Among his narrations is one from his father, Muhammad Taqī Majlisī (known as the first Majlisī).[64]

Opinion against Making the *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*

And then by means of a hadith from his father, Muhammad Taqī, Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī has narrated from some other shaykhs. At the end of this hadith, Muhammad Taqī Majlisī says: "Apart from this way, there are hundreds of other ways to narrate it—though I myself have told it more than six hundred ways!"[65]

And then after Bāqir Majlisī narrates the hadith about *Ṣaḥīfahs* from his father, from Shahīd Thānī, he says:

> The permitted written part is narrated from my father, which has the permission of Shahīd Thānī. The permission is as follows: "I permitted my elder son to publish this *Ṣaḥīfah* of the Holiness Imam al-Sājidīn al-Zayn al-'Ābidīn wa al-'Arifīn, Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, through direct chains from Ṣāḥib al-Zamān wa Khalifat al-Raḥmān [Imam Mahdi], peace be upon him, along with other authentic chains that exceed a thousand."[66]

And similarly, after narrating the *Ṣaḥīfah* by means of different chains of his, along with many other chains from his father, 'Allāmah Muhammad Taqī, as well as some other chains from Shaykh Bahā'ī al-Dīn al-Āmilī and other scholars, Bāqir Majlisī narrates the statement of his father in which his father says that the chains of narration of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* are 56,100.

Bāqir Majlisī, in another place, also narrates from his father, from Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muhammad, the great-grandfather of Shaykh Bahā'ī al-Āmilī, from Imam Mahdi, and then says:

> Given such a strong chain, there is no doubt that *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* belongs to our master Imam Sayyid al-Sājidīn. Its content, its fluency, and the divine statements are such that no one believes it could be from anyone but the infallible Imam.
>
> Praise be to the Lord of the worlds for His majestic blessing to us, the Shi'a! And peace and blessing be upon the owner of the divine knowledge, the Prophet and his pure Household, who are the gates of all science and knowledge and sanctified wisdom.
>
> Muhammad Taqī Ibn Majlisī enriched this *Ṣaḥīfah* with his writing on the first day of Ramaḍān in 1064, and the number of chains in this edition is about 5015.[67]

In permissions (*ijāzāt*) of narration by the first Majlisī, the word

لَایُحْصَی

is used many times, meaning that there are so many ways of narrating that one cannot count them. For example, in one of his permissions from Shaykh Bahā'ī, Majlisī says: "With the permission of the father of Shaykh Bahā'ī and previous permissions that one cannot count because it is narrated from Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn and from scholars of Ghufayrī who lived in his time."[68]

Moreover, by his permission from the father of Shaykh Bahā'ī, he says: "Whatever chains I have seen for the *Ṣaḥīfah* except this chain are too many to count."[69]

Now, in spite of the strength of such authentic sources of supplications in *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*, how can they be compared with the other weak and baseless supplications in other *Ṣaḥīfahs*?

It is precisely because of its reliability that scholars through different periods of time re-wrote it and transferred it to subsequent generations. When writing it, they did their best not to make a single mistake or add anything to the original copy. They tried to put the words and sentences in the right places, and then they taught its supplications to their students. They were very careful when allowing them to be narrated by their students, so that not a single letter or word was changed in any sentence or translated differently.

Given its splendid supplications and the care taken to keep this original edition safe from any alteration, we cannot compare this *Ṣaḥīfah* to other editions, some of which consist of very weak narrations and worthless poems and supplications. This is why among Shi'a scholars, it is the Bible of the Household and their Psalm.[70]

Sayyid Muḥsin Āmilī, the compiler of the fifth *Ṣaḥīfah*, admits that supplication number 201 in section 228, which he has narrated from *Anīs al-'Ābidīn* and *Bihār al-Anwār* and the fourth *Ṣaḥīfah*, does not have a reliable chain. He says:

وَلَكِنْ فِي عِبَارَاتِهِ مَا يُوهِنُ الْجَزْمَ بِكَوْنِهِ مِنَ الإِمَامِ عليه السّلام وَيُقَوّي كَوْنَهُ مِنْ تَأْلِيفِ مَنْ لَا يُحْسِنُ الْعَرَبِيَّةَ.[71]

"However, in the midst of its sentences are some subjects that weaken one's belief that they are told by the Imam, and they make one believe that he does not know Arabic." How on earth could Āmilī include this weak supplication in his collection and place it beside the superb supplications of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*?!"

The late Muḥaddith Nūrī, at the end of the fourth *Ṣaḥīfah*, has mentioned two poetic supplications prayers that he found in the hand-written works of some scholars. The beginning of one of them is:

أَلَمْ تَسْمَعْ بِفَضْلِكَ يَا مُنَانِي

"Do you not lend an ear to me, O herald?" Another one begins with this line:

إِلَيْكَ يَا رَبِّ قَدْ وَجَّهْتُ حَاجَاتِي.

"Toward You I turned, O Lord, my requests."

The first supplication has nine lines and the second eleven lines. We already mentioned that Sayyid Amīn, in the fifth *Ṣaḥīfah*,[72] has not mentioned the above supplications, although they are in the third and fourth *Ṣaḥīfah*. In the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīfah*, Sayyid Amīn considers them to be of no use. He says that they are composed by a non-Arab person.

However, the respectable compiler of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah al-Jāmi'a* has mentioned both of them. And the most astonishing thing is that he says:

وَنَحْنُ نُورِدُهُمَا كَذَلِكَ مَعَ اعْتِقَادِنَا بِعَدَمِ صِحَّةِ نِسْبَتِهِمَا إِلَيْهِ عليه السّلام، لِمَا فِيهِمَا مِنْ ضَعْفٍ فِي نَظْمِهِمَا وَلَفْظِهِمَا، وَهُوَ عليه السّلام عَيْنُ الْفَصَاحَةِ وَمَنْبَعُ الْبَلَاغَةِ. وَقَدْ قَطَعَ السَّيِّدُ الامِينُ بِفَسَادِ نِسْبَتِهِمَا إِلَيْهِ عليه السّلام فِي مُقَدِّمَةِ الصَّحِيفَةِ وَقَالَ: عُذْرُ صَاحِبِ الصَّحِيفَةِ فِي إِيرَادِهِمَا عَدَمُ كَمَالِ مَعْرِفَتِهِ بِاللِّسَانِ الْعَرَبِي.[73]

Although we believe these baseless statements are not related to the Imam, because in terms of Arabic literature, they are too weak to have

> been stated by the Imam, who is the source of endless knowledge, we still mention them here. Moreover, Sayyid Amīn, in the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīfah al-Khāmilah*, is certain that they are not from the Imam. He says that putting these two prayers in the fourth *Ṣaḥīfah* denotes that the author was not quite familiar with Arabic literature.

Here, the Holiness Imam Sajjād could say to Muḥaddith Nūrī: "Why did you put these invalid, indecent supplications along with my supplications and then attribute them to me?" The Imam could also ask Sayyid Amīn: "You condemned the author of the fourth *Ṣaḥīfah* for lacking knowledge of the Arabic language, but you still put them in the your *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*?" Would he have any answer to the Imam?

However, the main problem here is that why should we not publish the supplications as they originally are? This would mean publishing *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*, the second, the third, the fourth, and the fifth *Ṣaḥīfah* separately without adding or taking anything from them.

In other words, the supplications must be introduced as they were in the beginning, especially the supplications of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*, which have been originally received from the Imam. Is changing the location of any supplication and altering it not a kind of misconduct? Unfortunately, nowadays it has become common for editors or interpreters to make changes to the content of classical books in such a way that one can hardly recognize which parts are the original.

Therefore, in the recent publication that is taken from *al-Wāfī bi al-Wafyāt*, at the end of the book, the editor fairly and rightly says: "Let it be known that the contents of the book are immune from any kind of theft or alteration by the publishers, typesetters, or others."[74]

In any case, the respectable compiler of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah al-Jāmi'ah* has gathered all the related supplications and sorted them according to their theme and then has put every supplication in its right place. For example, in the beginning of the book, he includes eight supplications about monotheism, with praise, laudation, and glorification of God as follows:

اول: إذَا ابتَدَأ بالدُّعاء بَدَأ بِالتَّحميد لله عزّ وجلّ والثناء عليه:

اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الاوَّلِ بِلَا أوَّلٍ كَانَ قَبلَهُ، وَالآخِرِ بِلَا آخِرٍ يَكُونُ بَعْدَهُ

The first: "When you are going to supplicate, start with the praise of Allah, glory to Him in the highest, that is to say: Praise belongs to

Allah Who is the First without a first before Him, and He is the Last without a last after Him."

The second supplication in praising of Allah, glory to Him in the highest, is:

الحَمدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِى تَجَلّٰى لِلقُلُوبِ بِالعَظَمَةِ، وَاحتَجَبَ عَنِ الأبصَارِ بِالعِزَّةِ

"Praise belongs to Allah Who greatly illuminates within hearts and is hidden from the eyes with His Highness."

The third is with regard to monotheism as follows:

إلٰهِى بَدَت قُدرَتُكَ وَلَم تَبدُ هَيئَةُ جَلَالِكَ، فَجَهِلُوكَ وَقَدَّرُوكَ بِالتَّقدِيرِ عَلَى غَيرِ مَا أَنتَ بِهِ،...

"O Lord! You are omnipotent but You [kindly] do not apply Your sovereignty, so I become ignorant of You and compare Your Exalted Great Being with other existents..."

The fourth is His laudation:

سُبحَانَكَ اللّٰهُمَّ وَحَنَانَيكَ، سُبحَانَكَ اللّٰهُمَّ وَتَعَالَيتَ

"O Allah! Glory be to You and to Your Compassion, O Allah! Glory be to You and to Your Loftiness..."

The fifth glorifies the Sublime Allah:

سُبحَانَ مَن أَشرَقَ نُورُهُ كُلَّ ظُلمَةٍ، سُبحَانَ مَن قَدَّرَ بِقُدرَتِهِ كُلَّ قُدرَةٍ

"Glorified is He Whose Light illuminates the whole darkness, Glorified is He Who with His Power appraises all power."

The sixth supplication is as follows:

سُبحَانَ مَن لَم يَجعَل فِى أَحَدٍ مِن مَعرِفَةِ نِعَمِهِ إِلَّا المَعرِفَةَ بِالتَّقصِيرِ عَن مَعرِفَتِهَا كَمَا لَم يَجعَل فِى أَحَدٍ مِن مَعرِفَةِ إِدرَاكِهِ أَكثَرَ مِنَ العِلمِ بِأَنَّهُ لَا يُدرِكُهُ...

"Glorified is He Who did not bestow any knowledge about Him to anyone but a little, as He does not assign to anyone of His knowledge more than he can cope with..."

The seventh in His praise is:

الحَمدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِى تَجَلّٰى لِلقُلُوبِ بِالعَظَمَةِ، وَاحتَجَبَ عَنِ الأبصَارِ بِالعِزَّةِ

"Praise belongs to Allah, Who greatly illuminates hearts and hides from the eye His Power and Honor."

The eighth supplication is:

اللّٰهُمَّ إِنَّ أَحَداً لَا يَبلُغُ مِن شُكرِكَ غَايَةً وَإِن أَبعَدَ إِلَّا حَصَلَ عَلَيهِ مِن إِحسَانِكَ مَا يُلزِمُهُ شُكرَكَ.

"O Allah! Surely no one grudges giving thanks to You, and when he attains Your blessing, then he needs no more thanking You!"

After these supplications, the book starts with the subject of prayer, which is in the ninth supplication.[75]

One can easily notice that there is nothing in these supplications to distinguish the authentic ones from the inauthentic. In the index of the book, the number of *Ṣaḥīfahs* from which the supplication has been narrated is mentioned as follows:

The first supplication is narrated from the first *Ṣaḥīfah;* the second supplication from the second *Ṣaḥīfah;* the third supplication from the third *Ṣaḥīfah*, which is also narrated from *Irshād* by Shaykh al-Mufīd and *Maṭālib al-Sa'ūl;* the fourth supplication is narrated from the annotations of the first *Ṣaḥīfah*, and from the second *Ṣaḥīfah* in which Kaf'amī has narrated from *Miṣbāḥ*: the fifth supplication is narrated from *Da'wāt* by *Rāwandī* and from the second *Ṣaḥīfah* and the fifth one: the sixth supplication is from *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl* and from the fourth and fifth *Ṣaḥīfahs;* the seventh supplication is from the annotations of the first *Ṣaḥīfah* and from the second *Ṣaḥīfah*: the eighth supplication is from the third *Ṣaḥīfah* and the fifth *Ṣaḥīfah*.

With regard to other *Ṣaḥīfahs*, one may say that they have the advantage of ordering the supplications by themes.

My answer to this point is that if we have any doubt about the authenticity of a supplication, then what is the point of being concerned with their arrangement? In addition, one may ask what the benefit of grouping them is if they are not grouped in the original version of the *Ṣaḥīfah*?! Why are the chapters and verses in the Qur'an not grouped?! The Qur'an is a Book to recite, to act upon, and to convey a spiritual mood. There are different verses in each chapter on mystical subjects, divine knowledge, divine metaphysics, and other themes beautifully mixed together in many different ways. One who constantly and in different situations recites the Qur'an needs many various kinds of advice and knowledge. In every single moment one may need to hear about God or other spiritual subjects, and the Qur'an has always provided such variety of themes through the verses from its beginning to its end.

This variety of content in the Qur'an corresponds to the realm of nature and creation: its nights and days are diverse, its mountains are different, its fields and deserts are incomparable, its sun, stars, and moon are sometimes in the highest position and sometimes the lowest, its four seasons and nature on earth are different, and its rivers, seas, oceans and deserts have different sizes with a great many species.

This variation is the beauty of nature, and it has made the world stable and strong to stand where it is. If all things were in the same size and shape, with the same quality and quantity, with the same temper and use, then there would no longer exist a world to live in; and everything hand in hand would destroy the whole of existence.

The Qur'an and the supplications are like His creatures because they emanate from one source: the Omnipotent and Omniscient God.

Suppose the verses were arranged according to subject; then what would you expect to happen? You would put the verses on law, such as inheritance and divorce, together, the verses for all kinds of rituals like *ḥajj*, prayers, and fasting in one place, and the verses concerning social life such as buying, selling, borrowing, and lending together, and you would bring together the verses of metaphysics, ethics, and divine metaphysics in a separate section. Do you think this arrangement would be better than that of the existing Qur'an? It seems that such an arrangement would not be an advantage to this holy Book. It would change the Qur'an into an ordinary classical book.

The Oldest Copy of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*

This copy has been recently discovered. It consists of only forty supplications, which is thirty-five supplications fewer that the original *Ṣaḥīfah*. During the reign of Muhammad Riḍā Shah Pahlavī, Dāwūd Pīrnīyā, the governor of Khorasan, was the custodian of the holy shrine of Imam Riḍā. Pīrnīyā reconstructed the shrine under the supervision of the construction engineer Anṣārī. When demolishing the pillars in order to extend the shrine for pilgrims, the builders found three very valuable things hidden in a pillar to keep them safe for the future.

It was not clear at what time and by which government or guardians they were put in the pillar, but according to the dates written on them, it become known that they belonged to the year 429 AH to the seventeenth of Ramaḍān.

The precious things discovered are as follows:

First was about 1650 pieces of paper on verses of the Qur'an.

Second was four books, one of which is important. The book is a hardback, and the style of its writing is Naskh script with a page size of 17.5 by 11.5 centimeters. The collection includes five books: 1) *Qawāri' al-Qur'an,* which are the verses recite for protection; 2) another section of some other verses for requests and protection; 3) *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah;* 4) the book of *al-mudhakkar* (male) and *al-mu'annath* (female); 5) a pamphlet of prayers in the month of Rajab.[76]

The third thing was some precious jewelry and stones.

The discovered books were delivered to two experts in manuscripts, Doctor Ahmad Ali Rajā'ī, the principal of Mashhad's Literature College, the son of Mazārbān Firdusī, and Mahdi Valā'ī, who worked in the section of manuscripts at the library Imam Riḍā for many years. According to the report on their investigation, they sent the book back to the library on the twenty-fourth of Mordād, 1334 HS/twelfth of Jamādi al-Thānī, 1390 AH.[77]

This collection consists of treatises and books from Ḥanafiyyah and Shāfi'īyyah scholars in the fifth Hegira century and from many hadith narrators, jurists, and mystics from different areas of Nishabur.[78]

On the first page of the edition of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* in this collection the following is addressed:

كِتَابُ الدَّعَوَاتِ مِن قِيلِ عَلِيُّ بنِ الحُسَيْنِ جَدُّ جَعفَرِ بنِ مُحَمَّدٍ الصَّادِقِ رحمة الله عَلَيهِ وَيُسَمَّى كِتَابَ الكَامِلِ لِحُسْنِ مَا فِيهِ مِنَ الدَّعوَاتِ. وَ الاصلُ لابِى عَلِيٌّ الحَسَنِ بنِ إبرَاهِيمَ بنِ مُحَمَّدٍ الزَّامِيُّ الهَيصَمِىِّ أسعَدَهُ الله.

> *The Book of Supplications* is received from Ali Ibn al-Husayn, the great grandfather of Ja'far Ibn Muhammad al-Ṣādiq Abu Ali, may Allah have mercy upon him, and because of the high-quality supplications in it, it is called *Kitāb al-Kāmil*. This copy of the book belongs to Abu Ali, Hasan Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Zāmī Haythamī, may Allah bless him.

This Hasan Ibn Ibrahim Zāmī is the same writer of the *Ṣaḥīfah* who has explained its completion as follows:

إنتَهَا المَأثُورُ مِنَ الدَّعوَاتِ عَنْ زَيْنِ العَابِدِينَ وَ حَافِدِ سَيِّدِ الخَلَائِقِ أجمَعِينَ عَلِىُّ بنِ الحُسَيْنِ بنِ عَلِيٌّ ابنِ أبِيطَالِبِ خَاتَمِ الخُلَفَاءِ الرَّاشِدِينَ، و الصَّلَوةُ عَلى مُحَمَّدٍ وَ آلِهِ الطَّيِّبِينَ، وَكَتَبَهُ الحَسَنُ بنُ ابراهِيمَ بنِ مُحَمَّدٍ الزَّامِىُّ فى شوّالِ سَنَة ستَّ عَشَرَةَ وأربع مائة.

"Now the writing of the supplications of Zayn al-'Ābidīn, the grandson of the Sayyid of people, Ali Ibn Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, the seal of the caliphate of al-Rāshidīn, has come to an end, may Allah bless Muhammad and his pure Household."

Hasan Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Zāmī (Jāmī) wrote these supplications in Shawwāl, in the year 416 AH, may Allah bless his soul, and his mother's and father's souls, as well as all believers—men and women.

And at the end of the book he has added this passage:

سَبَّلَهُ[79] صَاحِبُهُ الخَادِمُ الجَلِيلُ أبُو الحَسَنِ عَلِيُّ بنُ إبْرَاهِيمَ البُوزَجَانِيُّ عَلَى الاسْتَادِ الإمَامِ الزَّاهِدِ أبِي بَكْرٍ مُحَمَّدِ بنِ الحَسَنِ وَعَلَى أوْلَادِهِ وَعَلَى كُلٍّ مِنْهُمْ أكْرَمَهُمُ اللهُ بِمَرْضَاتِهِ لِيَقْرَؤُوا عَلَى رَأسِ العَوَامِ فِي النِّصْفِ مِنْ رَجَبٍ يَوْمِ الاسْتِفْتَاحِ مَادَامَ هَذَا الجُزْءُ بَاقِياً، رَجَا دَعْوَةً صَالِحَةً مِنْهُمْ، يَقْبَلُ اللهُ مِنْهُ عَمَلَهُ وَحَقَّقَ رَجَاهُ وَأمَلَهُ، وَأصْلَحَ آخِرَهُ وَأوَّلَهُ.

The owner of this book, the great servant Abu al-Hasan Ali Ibn Ibrahim Buzjānī, donated it to pious al-Imam, Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Hasan, may Allah by pleased with him, and to his son and to every one of them—may Allah be pleased with all of them. He did it just because they read it every year in the middle of Rajab, which is known as the day of Istiftāh. They must read it every day through the month of Rajab. I pray and supplicate for them a healthy life, may Allah accept his fair action in this way and grant his wishes, and may He lead him to the right path from the beginning to end!

So it became clear that this copy is a donation, and that the main owners have said: "The donor was unknown."[80]

It must be known that the manuscript writer of the *Ṣaḥīfah,* at the end of this edition, has narrated a poetic prayer from Sufyān Ibn 'Oyaynah, from Zuhrī Muhammad Ibn Shahāb, from the Holiness Ali Ibn al-Husayn. In this prayer the Imam speaks with his self and his Creator. It begins:

يَانَفْسُ حَتَّامَ إلَى الحَيَوةِ سُكُونُكِ

"O my soul, how long will it be your place to abide in this life?"[81]

After that, he relates two pages of a beautiful supplication whose first line is:

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ الَّذِي خَلَقْتَهُ مِنْ شَجَرَةٍ أصْلُهَا إبْرَاهِيمُ الخَلِيلُ، وَفَرْعُهَا الذَّبِيحُ إسْمَعِيلُ، وَعَلَى آلِهِ الغُرِّ البَهَالِيلِ.

"May Allah bless Muhammad, whom You created from a tree whose root was Ibrahim al-Khalil, and its branch is Ismā'īl, and [may Allah] bless his excellent Household."

He then mentions a four-line supplication that should be recited after the recitation of the whole Qur'an. The first line is:

اللَّهُمَّ أنْتَ عَلَّمْتَنَاهُ قَبْلَ رَغْبَتِنَا فِي تَعَلُّمِهِ...

"O Allah, You taught it to us before we plead to learn it..."

Then he says: "The comparison of this book, from the beginning to end, with the original copy is done by my brother Ismā'īl Ibn Muhammad Qaffāl, may Allah assist and bless him."

He then mentions his brother's permission to him concerning the narration hadiths: "My brother Abu al-Qāsim Abdullah Ibn Muhammad Salamat Farhādhjirdī has been granted the permission to narrate this hadith exactly in the way we have written it from Abu Bakr Kermānī, may Allah bless him."

On the next page, he lists the names of the chain of the hadith as follows:

> In the Name of Allah, the All-compassionate, the All-merciful! The master, Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ali Kermānī said:
>
>> Bundār Ibn Yaḥyā Bezuzan informed us that he was told by Abu al-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Sahl al-Duhnī (or al-Rahnī) that Abu Ali Muhammad Ibn Humām Ibn Suhayl Askāfī narrated from Ali Ibn Mālik, from Ahmad Ibn Abdullah, from Muhammad Ibn Ṣāliḥ, from Omayr Ibn Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn, from his father, Mutawakkil, and said: "I met and saluted Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn, after his father was murdered and he was on the way to Khorasan."

Here the narrator mentions how Mutawakkil met the Holiness Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd, and he continues until he says:

> Muhammad and Ibrahim stood up in the presence of the Holiness Imam Ṣādiq, while were reciting:
>
> لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللهِ
>
> ("There is no power and no strength save in Allah, the Almighty"). And right then, Mutawakkil asked for a notebook to start writing the *Ṣaḥīfah*. So with the endless aid of Allah, the *Ṣaḥīfah* is written in this way.

The above-mentioned event is the last sentence of this edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, which explains the chain of it at the end of the book, contrary to other *Ṣaḥīfahs* whose chains come at the beginning of the books. In addition, the continuation of the hadith, which the Holiness explained to Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn, is deleted from the text. The continuation of the hadith is about the night dream of the Prophet, the government of Banī Umayyad, and the interpretation of the verse
الْقَدْرِ خَيْرٌ مِنْ أَلْفِ شَهْرٍ.

The Number of Supplications in the Oldest Edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah*

The oldest *Ṣaḥīfah* has fifteen supplications fewer than *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*. This *Ṣaḥīfah* only has forty well-known supplications, including a very famous one under the title "his supplication on complaint"; thus it has forty supplications, but at the beginning of the book, thirty-eight supplications are listed. The reason is that two supplications are considered as the continuance of two other supplications, and later they discovered they are two different supplications and gave them new titles.

The first of these two is on page 39 of this old edition. It comes after the phrase

بِسُيُوفِ أَعْدَائِهِ...

and then it begins with

وَالْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِي مَنَّ عَلَيْنَا.

In some versions, instead it starts with

الصَّلٰوةُ عَلَىٰ مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ.

The second one is on page 41, where after the sentence:

وَلَا يَخَافُ إِغْفَالَكَ ثَوَابَ مَنْ أَرْضَاكَ

("They do not fear Your negligence to reward those who please You"). The writer immediately says:

يَا مَنْ لَا تَنْقَضِي عَجَائِبُ عَظَمَتِهِ

("O He Who will never lose the wonders of His Greatness!").

In other famous editions of *Ṣaḥīfah*, the above-mentioned part is addressed under the title of

دُعَاؤُهُ لِنَفْسِهِ وَخَاصَّتِهِ

("his supplication is for himself and his close companions").

As we know, the number of the famous supplications of the available *Ṣaḥīfahs* is fifty-four; therefore, the old discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* has fifteen supplications fewer than the others, and fourteen supplications fewer than *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*.[82]

Concerning the chain of the old *Ṣaḥīfah*, we should know that the narrators are from among the Sunnis, many of whom are not reliable to us. Nevertheless, this edition is as useful as the oldest edition is, and it can in some way promote the authenticity of the *Ṣaḥīfah*

When this summer the great scholar Āyatollāh Sayyid 'Azizullāh Ṭabāṭabā'ī[83] came to my house to visit me, and I had a word on this subject, he said: "My very sincere old friend Āyatollāh Sayyid Ahmad

Fahrī Zanjānī has published this edition in Shām, and you must see this copy." I immediately sent a message to Ḥājj Abu Mūsā Ja'far Muḥyī, the head of publication of Maktabat al-Tabarru'āt wa Isti'lām-āt fi al-Ṣaḥn al-Sharīf in Zaynabiyyah in Shām, to ask him to send me a copy of that book. After twenty days he sent me the copy. It is beautifully designed and published and includes a scholarly introduction by Āyatollāh Fahrī.[84] Recently I have also received another copy of the translation of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* by Āyatollāh Fahrī that is published in Tehran. I pray for him for his great efforts to preserve the precious spiritual heritage the Shi'a received from the Holiness Imam Sajjād.

A Few Disadvantages of the Discovered Edition

Six differences have been mentioned in this edition, which we address in the following discussion, but in my opinion they cannot be considered true advantages:

The first difference is that it is the oldest and thus most original version. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* was compiled in 460 AH, and other versions were compiled in 694, 695, and 697. There is also a copy that belongs to Shahīd al-Awwal (734–784 AH) that was compiled in the eighth century.

However, we may disprove this view and say that oldness alone cannot be considered an advantage if its content has not been received by reliable narrators, while it is acknowledged that *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* has reliable and successive chains of narrators. If *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* has such an authentic position, then merely being an old edition is not an advantage.

For example, suppose we find a superb hand-written copy of the Qur'an belonging to the period of Hārūn al-Rashīd, but this copy has some missing verses, or parts of its content are different from the existing Qur'an. In this case, how you would judge? Would you say the discovered copy has priority over the existing copy because it is a very old version of the Qur'an?

Surely you would never give priority to the newly discovered copy over the existing Qur'an, just because it is an old copy.

We do the same with the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah*. We surely do not prefer it if its chain is unreliable and there are missing phrases in it, and above all it has some unacceptable information on the night dreams of the Prophet about Banī Umayyad as well as its content on the commentary of verse of Qadr.

The second difference mentioned of the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* is the high level of its literature in terms of eloquence and rhetoric. In response to this assertion, I would say that as far as I have investigated, we did not find it more fluent and eloquent than the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* (*Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*). Its style of writing and punctuation is not superior.

To be able to make a fair judgment on the two editions, here we do a comparative review of a few supplications from them.

There is a supplication in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*[85] called

دُعَاؤُهُ فِي الْمُهِمَّاتِ

("supplication for important incidents"), and in the discovered one, it is called:

وَمِنْ دُعَائِهِ إِذَا نَزَلَتْ بِهِ مُهِمَّةٌ

("and of his supplication when he encountered a significant event").

In the famous edition of *Ṣaḥīfah*, we have:

وَيَا مَنْ يُفْثَأُ بِهِ حَدُّ الشَّدَائِد

("O He through Whom the cutting edge of hardship is blunted"). And in the discovered, we have it as:

وَيَا مَنْ يُفْثَأُ بِهِ حَمْىُ الشَّدَائِد

The phrases:

حَدّ الشدائد ـ حدّ الشراب: سَوْرته. حدّ السّيف: مَقطعه

refer to the intensity and severity of punishments one receives for his misbehavior when he is angry or behaves abnormally.

And in terms of Arabic concept, the correct form is

حَمْىُ الشَّدَائد

not

حَمَى الشَّدَائِدِ

because

حَمْى

means heat and warmth.

In the famous edition we have

فَثَأْبه حَدَّه

which means "calming the intensity"; and

فَثَأْ حَمْيَه

means lessening heat and warmth; the terms in the two editions are both fine, and one has no priority over the other.

Another line in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* is

وَيَامَنْ يُلْتَمَسُ مِنْهُ الْمَخْرَجُ إِلَى رَوْحِ الْفَرَجِ

("O He from Whom is begged the way to the freshness of relief"), while in the discovered copy it is:

وَيَامَنْ يُلْتَمَسُ بِهِ الْمَخْرَجُ إِلَى مَحَلِّ الْفَرَجِ

("O He from Whom is begged the way to the position of relief"). There is no difference between the two words:

مِنْه

and

بِه

However,

روح الفرج

in the famous edition is more eloquent than the word in the discovered one, because the meaning of

رَوْح

here denotes a kind of ease and serenity after pain. There is in fact a victory and blessing in it because it comes from relief and fairness.

Another line in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* is:

ذَلَّتْ لِقُدْرَتِكَ الصِّعَابُ

("the intractable difficulties yield to Your power..."), and in the discovered edition it says:

ذَلَّتْ بِقُدْرَتِكَ الصِّعَابُ

("intractable difficulties yield by Your power..."). There is no difference in the editions except for the prepositions before the word "power."

Another line in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* is:

وَتَسَبَّبَتْ بِلُطْفِكَ الاسْبَابُ

("causes are effective by Your favor..."), and in the discovered edition it is:

وَتَشَبَّكَتْ بِلُطْفِكَ الاسْبَابُ

("interwoven networks of causes are from Your favor").

The term

تَسَبُّب

literally means "cause," and here means the facility and tools to do something with; however

تشبك

means many interwoven tools to do something with, so the terms are substantially the same in this context.

In the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* we have

وَجَرَى بِقُدْرَتِكَ الْقَضاء

("fate goes into effect through Your power..."), but in the discovered copy it appears as:

وَجَرَى بِطاعَتِكَ الْقَضاء

("the decree goes into effect through Your obedience").

Affairs happen through His power or by His obedience, so both phrases seem to covey the same meaning.

And the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* says:

وَمَضَتْ عَلَى إِرَادَتِكَ الأَشْيَاء

("all things proceed according to Your will..."). And the discovered copy has the above-mentioned line as:

وَمَضَتْ عَلَى ذِكْرِكَ الأَشْيَاء

("all things procced with praising You").

It seems that things proceeding according to God's will rather than praising Him is more appropriate in this context.

In the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* we have:

وَقَدْ نَزَلَ بِي

("and upon me it has come down..."); and in the discovered one it is:

قَدْ نَزَلَ بِي

without

و

but

و

makes the line run fluently.

In the first one it is said:

مَا قَدْ تَكَأَدَنِي ثِقْلُه

("something whose weight burdens me"); and in the discovered copy it is:

مَا قَدْ تَكَاأَدَنِي ثِقْلُه

with the same meaning, because the words:

تَكَأَّدَ

and

تَكَاءَدَ

are not different in meaning, and neither has priority over the other.

In the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* we read:

وَأَلَمَّ بِي مَا قَدْ بَهَظَنِي حَمْلُهُ

("upon me has fallen something the carrying of which oppresses me"). And the discovered one says:

وَأَلَمَّ بِي مَا قَدْ بَهَظَنِي حِمْلُهُ

with the same meaning.

The term

حَمْل

is an infinitive that means "to load"; however, the word

حِمْل

means "a load that is taken and carried," so ultimately there is no difference between them, and both are fine.

In the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* we have:

وَلَا فَاتِحَ لِمَا أَغْلَقْتَ وَلَا مُغْلِقَ لِمَا فَتَحْتَ وَلَا مُيَسِّرَ لِمَا عَسَّرْتَ وَلَا نَاصِرَ لِمَنْ خَذَلْتَ، فَصَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَافْتَحْ لِي يَا رَبِّ بَابَ الْفَرَجِ بِطَوْلِكَ.

("No one can open what You have closed; none can close what You have opened; none can make easy what You have made difficult; none can help him whom You have let down. So bless Muhammad and his Household. O my Lord, open for me the door of relief through Your graciousness!") But in the discovered edition, it begins:

وَلَا فَاتِحَ لِمَا أَغْلَقْتَ فَافْتَحْ لِي إِلٰهِي أَبْوَابَ الْفَرَجِ بِطَوْلِكَ.

("None can open what You have closed...O my Lord, open for me the door of relief through Your graciousness!")

It is obvious that the famous edition is quite clear and runs fluently. Putting the word "closed" in front of "open," and omitting the sentences

لَا مُيَسِّرَ لِمَا عَسَّرْتَ وَلَا نَاصِرَ لِمَنْ خَذَلْتَ.

and "mentioning peace and blessing upon Muhammad and his Household" has meaning and beauty in the whole sentence that are

not in the discovered edition. In fact, the discovered copy is quite wrong.

Moreover, in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* it reads:

وَأَنِلْنِي حُسْنَ النَّظَرِ فِيمَا شَكَوْتُ

("and bestow the goodness of Your attention upon my complaint"). And the discovered copy says:

وَأَنِلْنِي حُسْنَ النَّظَرِ فِيمَا شَكَوْتُ إِلَيْكَ

("and bestow the goodness of Your attention upon my complaint towards You"); here in fact we do not need to mention "towards You"

إِلَيْكَ

because it is obvious to whom the complaint is addressed.

In the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* it reads:

وَأَذِقْنِي حَلَاوَةَ الصُّنْعِ فِيمَا سَأَلْتُ

("let me taste the sweetness of benefaction of [Your] creation when I pray"); and the discovered one says:

وَأَذِقْنِي حَلَاوَةَ الصُّنْعِ فِيمَا سَأَلْتُكَ

("let me taste the sweetness of benefaction of [Your] creation when I pray to You"). There is only one extra "to You," which makes no difference.

In the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* it read:

وَهَبْ لِي مِنْ لَدُنْكَ رَحْمَةً وَفَرَجاً هَنِيئاً

("and give me from Yourself mercy and wholesome relief"); and the discovered edition says:

وَهَبْ لِي إِلٰهِي مِنْ لَدُنْكَ فَرَجاً هَنِيّاً

("and give me from Yourself, O God, a mercy and wholesome relief"). Although there is a slight different between

هَنِيئا

and

هَنِيئا

the meaning is the same. There is also an extra "O God" in the latter that in fact is not needed.

In the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, we read:

وَلَا تَشْغَلْنِي بِالاهْتِمَامِ عَنْ تَعَاهُدِ فُرُوضِكَ

("assist me in not being distracted from practicing my obligations to You..."), and the discovered copy says:

وَلَاتَشْغَلْنِي بِالاهْتِمَامِ عَنْ تَعَهُّدِ فُرُوضِكَ

("assist me in not being distracted from practicing my obligations to You"). The words

تَعَهَّدَ

and

تَعَاهَدَ

have the same origin, so there is no difference in meaning between the sentences.

In the famous edition, we read:

وَاسْتِعْمَالِ سُنَّتِكَ

("acting in accordance with Your orders"), and in the discovered one:

وَاسْتِعْمَالِ سُنَنِكَ

Here also both are correct, because the term

سُنَن

is the plural of

سنت

In the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, we read:

فَقَدْ ضِقْتُ لِمَا نَزَلَ بِي يَارَبِّ ذَرْعا

("O my Lord, I am at an impasse because of what has come down on me...), and in the discovered one,

فَقَدْ ضِقْتُ بِمَا نَزَلَ بِي يَارَبِّ ذَرْعا

with the same meaning. There is no difference between them except in the preposition. It is like:

ذَلَّت لِقدرتك

("yield to Your power") and

ذَلَّت بقدرتك

("yield with Your power").

Then in the famous copy we have

فَافْعَلْ بِي ذَلِكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ أَسْتَوْجِبْهُ مِنْكَ

("grant me that favor although I have not merited for You to do it to me"), and in the discovered we have

فَافْعَلْ ذَلِكَ بِي إِلٰهِي وَإِنْ لَمْ أَسْتَوْجِبْهُ مِنْكَ

("grant me that favor, my Lord, although I have not merited for You to do it to me"). There is again no difference in the meaning, except that there is an extra "my Lord" in the latter.

Finally, in the famous copy, we read

يَاذَاالْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ

("O Possessor of the Mighty Throne!") And the discovered copy says

يَاذَاالْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ

followed by:

صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَ آلِهِ أَزْكَى صَلَوٰةٍ وَأَنْمَاهَا وَأَتَمَّهَا وَأَكْمَلَهَا يَا أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ.

("Bless Muhammad and his pure descendant, complete their praise and blessing to You, the most Merciful of the merciful!")

As we will discuss later, the respected compiler of the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* has dropped the phrase blessing and praising the Imams from his edition!

The third difference is the order of some of the supplications, that is, the positions of the supplications in the two copies are not the same. Nevertheless, this cannot be considered a matter of advantage of one edition over the other, as the compiler of that discovered copy has claimed.

The fourth difference is the difference in the numbering of supplications such that some supplications come under a separate number instead of as continuations of other supplications, so the number of supplications in the famous editions is less than that of the later copies.

Despite the discovered copies having more numbers, they still have fewer supplications. In the introduction, the compiler says the discovered copy has fifteen supplications (out of fifty-four) fewer, which is a great defect in that book.

The fifth difference is with regard to the titles of the supplications in both copies, that is, the titles of some supplications in the famous one are not in the discovered copy. For example, "supplication five," which in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* is known as

دُعَاؤُهُ لِنَفْسِهِ وَخَاصَّتِهِ

("his supplication for himself and his close companies"), has no title in the discovered copy.

There are some differences among the words, phrases, and titles in these two *Ṣaḥīfahs* that are not very important and do not damage the value of the discovered copy, but the problem lies in the supplications that have no title. Now, the question is what has happened to

the titles in the discovered edition, because each supplication has its own name and title in the famous copy.

This lack of titles is obviously a defect in the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah*.

The sixth difference, as mentioned above, is that there are more praises (*ṣalawāt*) and blessings of Muhammad and his Household in the famous copy than in discovered copy, but one supplication in the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* has praise and blessing to the Prophet and his Household where the famous copy does not. That supplication comes under the title of

يَا مَنْ تُحَلُّ بِهِ عُقَدُ المَكَارِه

but the existence of praise and blessing of the Household does not necessarily mean that they are part of the supplication, because we have many hadiths that highly recommend that when blessing the Prophet, one should mention the Household of the Prophet as well.

However, there is a narration with a Sunni chain that says:

لَا تُصَلُّوا عَلَيَّ صَلَوةً بَتْرَى

("Do not [ask Allah to] bless the Household after mentioning the Prophet's name"). Here

صَلَوةً بَتْرَى

has been translated as: "Do not bless the Household when mentioning the name of the Holy Messenger."

The reason for this matter is that sometimes praising the Household after praising the Prophet seems inappropriate. For example, in the following prayer, we must eliminate praising the Household, that is,

آلِهِ

Otherwise, in terms of Arabic, there would be a grammatical error, because the last sentence, i.e.,

أَحَداً مِنْ أَنْبِيَائِكَ عَنْ اُمَّتِه

in the following prayer should be

أَحَداً مِنْ أَنْبِيَائِكَ وَ آلِهِ عَنْ اُمَّتِهِمْ

اللَّهُمَّ فَصَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَ آلِهِ أَكْثَرَ مَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى أَحَدٍ مِنْ خَلْقِكَ، وَ آتِهِ عَنَّا أَفْضَلَ مَا آتَيْتَ أَحَداً مِنْ عِبَادِكَ، وَاجْزِهِ عَنَّا أَفْضَلَ وَأَكْرَمَ مَا جَزَيْتَ أَحَداً مِنْ أَنْبِيَائِكَ عَنْ اُمَّتِه.

"O Lord, therefore bless Muhammad and his Household more than You bless anyone among Your creatures and bestow on us more than

what You give to anyone else of Your slaves, and favor us with Your reward more than You reward anyone of the apostles and their nation."

Given this point, the lack of uttering blessings upon Muhammad and his pure Household in some supplications in the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* seems to be more accurate, and uttering praises and blessings on the Household in the famous copy is unnecessary.

One may raise a couple of objections here, as follows:

The first objection: in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, the supplication

يَامَنْ تُحَلّ

has no praises upon the Household of the Prophet.

The response is: in all copies of the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, even in the oldest manuscript, there is praising in this supplication. On page 163 in my copy, it says:

وَلَا نَاصِرَ لِمَنْ خَذَلْتَ فَصَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَافْتَحْ لِي يَا رَبِّ بَابَ الْفَرَجِ بِطَوْلِكَ.

"And there is no assister to one whom You let down, so bless Muhammad and his Household, and open for me, O Lord, the gate of relief through Your Power."

The second objection: through the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah*, there are two praises (*ṣalawāts*) upon the Household of Muhammad.

The response is: in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, we have 144 occurrences of praising,[86] so offering only two *ṣalawāts* in the discovered copy is not enough to justify his shortcoming in mentioning *ṣalawāts*, and the probability still remains that he has placed these two *ṣalawāts* upon the Household of the Prophet to avoid any blame. In total, the compiler of the discovered copy has omitted 128 *ṣalawāts*, which is a kind of distortion of the original copy. He has used 14 *ṣalawāts* without the Household of the Prophet and has only used a complete *ṣalawāt* in two places.[87] So the biggest problem is that most of the *ṣalawāts* in the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* are omitted, and 14 cases are not complete praising, while the compiler was aware of the Prophetic hadith on the preferred way of uttering *ṣalawāts*. There are a great number of hadiths from the Shi'a and Sunnis in their great *Ṣiḥāḥ* that say that when the Prophet was asked about "uttering blessing," he answered: "The Household of Muhammad must be added to it."

The Hadiths from the Sunni on Mentioning "the Household" after Blessing the Prophet

One narration from Bukhārī, from Sa'īd Ibn Yaḥyā, from his father, from Mis'ar, from Ḥakam, from Ibn Abi Laylā, from Ka'b Ibn 'Ojrah narrates:

يَارَسُولَ اللهِ! أمَّا السَّلاَمُ عَلَيْكَ فَقَدْ عَرَفْنَاهُ. فَكَيْفَ الصَّلاَة

"O Messenger of Allah, may [Allah's] peace be upon you, do teach us: how should praise and blessing be given?"

قَالَ: قُولُوا: اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إبْرَاهِيمَ إنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ؛ اللَّهُمَّ بَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى إبْرَاهِيمَ إنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيد؛

"[The Prophet] answered: 'Say: O Allah, bless Muhammad and the Household of Muhammad as You blessed Ibrahim, for indeed You are All-Glorious and Praiseworthy! Send [Your] blessing and praise upon Muhammad as You sent it upon Ibrahim, for indeed You are All Glorious and Praiseworthy!'"

And two other hadiths with almost the same content, but with different chains, have been addressed in the Sunni hadith compendiums.[88]

Moreover, Muslim, the author of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Muslim*, has narrated it in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and Temidhī, Abu Dāwūd, Dūramī, and Nisā'ī have also narrated it in their *sunan*. Ahmad Ḥanbal in his *Musnad*, and Mālik in his *Muwaṭṭa*, have also narrated this hadith.[89]

Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī has narrated this very hadith by means of many chains in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*. In this book, he addresses a few points as follows:

1. Takhrīj says that Sa'īd Ibn Manṣūr, 'Abd Ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Abi Ḥātam, and Ibn Mardawayh have narrated from Ka'b Ibn 'Ojrah, saying:

لَمَّا نَزَلَتْ: إنَّ اللهَ وَمَلَائِكَتَهُ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ يَا أيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيما[90]، قُلْنَا: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ! قَدْ عَلِمْنَا السَّلاَمَ عَلَيْكَ؛ فَكَيْفَ الصَّلَوةُ عَلَيْكَ؟!
قَالَ: قُولُوا: اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إبْرَاهِيمَ وَعَلَى آلِ إبْرَاهِيمَ إنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ؛ وَبَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى إبْرَاهِيمَ وَآلِ إبْرَاهِيمَ إنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيد.[91]

When the verse of

إنَّ اللهَ وَمَلَائِكَتَهُ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى النَّبِي

(*Indeed Allah and His angels bless the Prophet*) was revealed, we said: "O Messenger of Allah, we have learned how to salute You, so how can we offer praise and blessing upon you?"

The Prophet said: "Say: 'O Allah, praise Muhammad and Muhammad's Household, as you praise Ibrahim and the household of Ibrahim,' and add: 'for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy!' So utter and offer blessing upon Muhammad and his Household as you bless Ibrahim and his household, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy!"

2. Ibn Jarīr has narrated that Yūnus Ibn Khabbāb in Fārs preached to us and recited the verse *Truly God and His angels...* up to the end of this verse. He then said:

A man who had heard it from Ibn Abbās told us that when this verse was revealed, they asked the Prophet:

يَارَسُولَ اللهِ: قَدْ عَلِمْنَا السَّلَامَ عَلَيْكَ فَكَيْفَ الصَّلٰوةُ عَلَيْكَ؟

"O Messenger of Allah, we have learned how to salute you, but how can we offer praise and blessing upon you?"

The Prophet stated:

اَللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَآلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ؛ وَارْحَمْ مُحَمَّداً وَآلَ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا رَحِمْتَ آلَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ؛ وَبَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَعَلَى آلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ؛[92]

Say: O Allah, praise Muhammad and Muhammad's Household, as You offer praises upon Ibrahim and the Household of Ibrahim, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy! And be compassionate to Muhammad and his Household as you were compassionate to Ibrahim and his Household, for indeed You are the most Merciful of the merciful! And bless Muhammad and Muhammad's Household as You blessed Ibrahim and his Household—for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy!

3. Ibn Jarīr has narrated from Ibrahim, saying that concerning the verse:

إِنَّ اللهَ وَمَلٰئِكَتَهُ

(*Indeed God and His angels...*) that the people asked the Prophet:

يَارَسُولَ اللهِ! هَذَا السَّلَامُ قَدْ عَرَفْنَاهُ فَكَيْفَ الصَّلَاةُ عَلَيْكَ.

"O Messenger of Allah, this is the salute that we know how to make, but how should we ask blessing upon you?"

The Prophet asked them to say:

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ عَبْدِكَ وَرَسُولِكَ وَآلِ بَيْتِهِ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَآلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ!
وَبَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى آلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ!

"Say: O Allah, bless Your slave, the Prophet, and his Household as You blessed Ibrahim and his family, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy! And bestow Your blessing upon Muhammad and his Household as You did with Ibrahim and his family, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy."

4. 'Abd al-Razzāq, Ibn Abi Shaybah, Ahmad, 'Abd Ibn Ḥamīd, Bukhārī, Muslim, Abu Dāwūd, Nisā'ī, Ibn Mājih, and Ibn Mardawayh have narrated from Ka'b Ibn 'Ojrah:

> A man asked the Prophet:
>
> يَارَسُولَ اللهِ! أَمَّا السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ فَقَدْ عَلِمْنَاهُ فَكَيْفَ الصَّلٰوةُ عَلَيْكَ.
>
> "O Messenger of Allah! This is how we salute you, but how should the blessing upon you be?!"
>
> The Prophet responded:
>
> اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى آلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ! اللَّهُمَّ بَارِكْ عَلَى
> مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى آلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ![93]
>
> "Say: O Allah, bless Your slave and Your Messenger and his Household as You blessed Ibrahim and his family, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy! And bestow Your blessing upon Muhammad and his Household as You did with Ibrahim and his family, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy."

5. Ibn Abi Shaybah, 'Abd Ibn Ḥamīd, Nisā'ī, Ibn Abi 'Āṣim, Haytham Ibn Kulayb, and Ibn Mardawayh have narrated from Ṭalḥat Ibn Ubaydullah, saying:

يَارَسُولَ اللهِ! كَيْفَ الصَّلَاةُ عَلَيْكَ؟

"O Messenger of Allah! How should Your blessing be?"

The Prophet responded:

> Say:

اللّهمّ صلّ على محمّدٍ و على آل محمّدٍ كما صلّيت على إبراهيم و على آل إبراهيم إنّك حميدٌ مجيد؛[94]

"O Allah, bless Muhammad and his Household as You blessed Ibrahim and his family, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy!"

6. Ibn Jarīr has narrated from Ṭalḥat Ibn Ubaydullah, saying that a man went to the Messenger of Allah and said:

I have heard Allah say:

إنّ الله و ملٰئكته يصلّون على النّبي

"Indeed Allah and His angels bless the Prophet, so tell me how can we bless You?"

The Prophet answered, saying:

اللّهمّ صلّ على محمّدٍ و على آل محمّدٍ كما صلّيت على إبراهيم إنّك حميدٌ مجيدٌ؛ و بارك على محمّدٍ و على آل محمّدٍ كما باركت على إبراهيم إنّك حميدٌ مجيد.

"O Allah, offer Your peace and blessing upon Muhammad and the Household of Muhammad as You offered it upon Ibrahim, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy! And bless Muhammad and the Household of Muhammad as You blessed Ibrahim, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy!"

7. Ibn Jarīr has narrated from Ka'b Ibn 'Ojrah, saying:

When the verse

إنّ الله و ملٰئكته يصلّون على النّبي.

(*Indeed Allah and His angels bless the Prophet*) was revealed, I was in the presence of the Prophet, so I stood up and said:

السّلام عليك قد عرفناه فكيف الصّلاة عليك يا رسول الله.

"Peace be upon you, O the Messenger of Allah; do teach us in what way we should do *ṣalawāt* (uttering blessing) upon you!"

He stated:

Say:

اللّهمّ صلّ على محمّدٍ وعلى آل محمّدٍ كما صلّيت على إبراهيم وآل إبراهيم إنّك حميدٌ مجيدٌ،
وبارك على محمّدٍ وعلى آل محمّدٍ كما باركت على إبراهيم وآل ابراهيم إنّك حميدٌ مجيدٌ[95]

"O Allah, bless Muhammad and the Household of Muhammad as You blessed Ibrahim and his family, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy! And bestow Your blessing upon Muhammad and his Household as You did with Ibrahim and his family, for indeed you are the Glorious and Praiseworthy."

8. Ibn Abi Shaybah, Ahmad, 'Abd Ibn Ḥamīd, Bukhārī, Nisā'ī, Ibn Mājih, and Ibn Mardawayh narrated from Abu Sa'īd Khudrī, saying:

We said to the Prophet:

يا رسول الله، هذا السّلام عليك قد علمناه، فكيف الصّلاة عليك.

"O Messenger of Allah! This is how we salute you, so do teach us how the blessing upon you should be?!"

The Holiness stated:

Say:

اللّهمّ صلّ على محمّدٍ عبدك ورسولك كما صلّيت على آل إبراهيم، وبارك على محمّدٍ وعلى آل محمّدٍ كما باركت على آل ابراهيم؛[96]

"O Allah, bless Muhammad and his Household as You blessed Ibrahim and his family, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy! And bestow Your blessing upon Muhammad and his Household as You did with Ibrahim and his family."

9. 'Abd Ibn Ḥamīd, Bukhārī, Nisā'ī, and Ibn Mardawayh have narrated from Abu Hurayrah that he had asked the Prophet:

كيف نصلّي عليك

"How can we utter blessing upon you?"

The Prophet said:

In this way:

اللّهمّ صلّ على محمّدٍ وعلى آل محمّدٍ، وبارك على محمّدٍ وعلى آل محمّدٍ كما صلّيت وباركت على إبراهيم وآل إبراهيم في العالمين إنّك حميدٌ مجيدٌ، والسّلام كما قد علمتم؛[97]

"O Allah, offer Your blessing upon Muhammad and the Household of Muhammad, as You praised and blessed Ibrahim and his House-

hold in the two worlds, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy! And say peace be upon them, as You taught."

10. Mālik, 'Abd al-Razzāq, Ibn Abi Shaybah, 'Abd Ibn Ḥamīd, Abu Dāwūd, Tirmidhī, Nisā'ī, and Ibn Mardawayh have narrated from Abu Mas'ūd Anṣārī, saying that Bashīr Ibn Sa'īd asked the Prophet:

يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، أَمَرَنَا اللهُ أَنْ نُصَلِّيَ عَلَيْكَ، فَكَيْفَ نُصَلِّي عَلَيْكَ

"O Messenger of Allah, God has commanded us to utter blessing on you, so how can we bless you?"

The Prophet paused for a short while (so that we regretted asking such a question), and then stated:

Say:

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ، وَبَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ فِي الْعَالَمِينَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ، وَالسَّلَامُ كَمَا قَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ[98]

"O Allah, offer Your blessing upon Muhammad and the Household of Muhammad, as You blessed Ibrahim! Do bless Muhammad as You blessed Ibrahim in two worlds, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy! And say peace be upon them as You taught."

11. Ibn Mardawayh has narrated from [Imam] Ali, saying that he had asked the Prophet:

يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، كَيْفَ نُصَلِّي عَلَيْكَ

"O Messenger of Allah, how should we utter blessing upon you?"

The Prophet stated:

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَآلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ.[99]

"O Allah, bless Muhammad and the Household of Muhammad as You blessed Ibrahim and his family, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy."

12. Ibn Mardawayh has also narrated from Abu Hurayrah, saying:

I asked the Holy Prophet:

يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، قَدْ عَلِمْنَا كَيْفَ السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ، فَكَيْفَ نُصَلِّي عَلَيْكَ

"O Messenger of Allah, certainly we know how to utter peace upon you, so let us know how to utter blessing upon you!"

The Prophet stated:

اللّهمّ اجعَلْ صلَوَاتِكَ وَبَرَكَاتِكَ عَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا جَعَلْتَهَا عَلَى آلِ إبراهيمَ إنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيد.[100]

"O Allah, honor Your peace and blessing upon Muhammad as You honored it upon Ibrahim and the Household of Ibrahim, for indeed You are Glorious, Praiseworthy."

13. Ibn Khuzaymah, Ḥākim, and Bayhaqī, in his *Sunan*, have narrated from Abu Mas'ūd, from 'Aqabat Ibn 'Amr, who said a man asked the Prophet:

يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ! أمَّا السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ فَقَدْ عَرَفْنَاهُ فَكَيْفَ نُصَلِّي عَلَيْكَ إذَا نَحْنُ صَلَّيْنَا عَلَيْكَ فِي صَلَاتِنَا؟! فَصَمَتَ النَّبِيُّ صلّى الله عليه (و آله) وسلّم ثُمَّ قَالَ:
إذَا أنْتُمْ صَلَّيْتُمْ عَلَيَّ فَقُولُوا: اللّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ النَّبِيِّ الأُمِّيِّ وَ عَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إبْرَاهِيمَ وَعَلَى آلِ إبراهيمَ! وَبَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ النَّبِيِّ الأُمِّيِّ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى إبْرَاهِيمَ وَعَلَى آلِ إبْرَاهِيمَ إنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيد!

"O Messenger of Allah, certainly we know how to salute you, so let us know how to utter blessing upon you when we want to bless you in our prayer."

The Messenger of Allah paused for a short while and then said:

> When you are going to utter blessing upon me, say: "O Allah, bless Muhammad, the unlettered Prophet, and his Household, as You offered blessing upon Ibrahim and his Household! And bless Muhammad, the unlettered Messenger, and the Household of the Messenger, as You did Ibrahim and his Household—indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy.

14. Bukhārī has narrated from Abu Hurayrah in *al-Adab al-Mufrad*, saying that the Prophet stated:

مَنْ قَالَ: اللّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إبْرَاهِيمَ وَ آلِ إبراهيمَ! وَبَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى إبْرَاهِيمَ وَ آلِ إبراهيمَ! وَ تَرَحَّمْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا تَرَحَّمْتَ عَلَى إبْرَاهِيمَ وَ آلِ إبْرَاهِيمَ، شَهِدْتُ لَهُ يَوْمَ الْقِيمَةِ بِالشَّهَادَةِ وَشَفَعْتُ لَه [101]

"He who says, 'O Allah, bless Muhammad and the Household of Muhammad as You blessed Ibrahim and his Household, and bestow blessing on Muhammad and his Household as You bestowed it upon Ibrahim and his family—I will stand witness, on the Day of Resurrection for his intercession."

15. Ibn Sa'd, Ahmad, Nisā'ī, and Ibn Mardawayh have narrated from Zayd Ibn Abi Khārijah, saying that he had asked the Prophet:

يَارَسُولَ اللهِ، قَدْ عَلِمْنَا كَيْفَ السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ، فَكَيْفَ نُصَلِّي عَلَيْكَ.

"O Messenger of Allah, certainly we know how to salute you, so let us know how to utter blessing upon you!"

The Prophet stated:

صَلُّوا عَلَيَّ وَاجْتَهِدُوا

> Utter blessing upon me and try most! And then say:
>
> اللّٰهُمَّ بَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَآلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ.
>
> "O Allah, bless Muhammad and the Household of Muhammad as You blessed Ibrahim and the Household of Ibrahim, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy."

16. Ahmad, 'Abd Ibn Ḥamīd, and Ibn Mardawayh have narrated from Buraydah, who said:

> We said to the Prophet: "O Messenger of Allah! Do tell us how to salute you and how to utter blessing upon you?"
>
> The Prophet answered:
>
> > Say:
> >
> > اللّٰهُمَّ اجْعَلْ صَلَوَاتِكَ وَرَحْمَتَكَ وَبَرَكَاتِكَ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا جَعَلْتَهَا عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ.[102]
> >
> > "O Allah, assign Your Praise, Mercy, and Blessing to Muhammad and the Household of his as You assigned it upon Ibrahim and his Household, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy."

In any case, we all know that Suyūṭī is one the greatest scholars among the Sunnis. *Al-Durr al-Manthūr* is a very popular and reliable book for the Sunnis, so we picked up the aforementioned hadiths from this famous book. The hadiths are narrated from eminent and

reliable chains from among Companions of the Prophet such as Imam Ali, Ka'b Ibn 'Ojrah, Ibn Abbās, Ṭalḥat Ibn Abdullah, Bashīr Ibn Sa'd, Abu Hurayrah, Abu Mas'ūd Anṣārī, 'Aqabat Ibn 'Amr, Zayd Ibn Abi Khārijah, and Buraydah. All these hadiths clearly prove that blessing Muhammad without mentioning his Household was not favored by the Prophet.[103]

From among the Shi'a, 'Allāmah Majlisī has devoted a section in *Bihār al-Anwār* to this issue. He has narrated the most authentic hadiths concerning uttering blessing upon Muhammad and his Household.[104]

Among their different sources, Majlisī has narrated from *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*. He narrated from this book the hadiths on Imam Riḍā's debates with Sunni scholars in the presence of Ma'mūn. In one of his debates, the Imam stated:

...and in the Qur'an, God the Highest states:

إنَّ اللهَ وَمَلَـٰئِكَتَهُ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيماً.[105] وَ قَدْ عَلِمَ الْمُعَانِدُونَ مِنْهُمْ أَنَّهُ لَمَّا نَزَلَتْ هَذِهِ الآيَةُ، قِيلَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ! قَدْ عَرَفْنَا التَّسْلِيمَ عَلَيْكَ، فَكَيْفَ الصَّلَوٰةُ عَلَيْكَ؟

فَقَالَ: تَقُولُونَ: اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَعَلَى آلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ.

فَهَلْ بَيْنَكُمْ مَعَاشِرَ النَّاسِ فِي هَذَا خِلَافٌ؟! قَالُوا: لا

قَالَ الْمَأْمُونُ: هَذَا مَا لَا خِلَافَ فِيهِ أَصْلاً، وَعَلَيْهِ إِجْمَاعُ الأُمَّةِ. فَهَلْ عِنْدَكَ فِي الآلِ شَيْءٌ أَوْضَحُ مِنْ هَذَا فِي الْقُرْآنِ (الى اخر الحديث).

Surely Allah and His angels send their blessings to Messenger. O you who believe, you [too] send him your blessings and greet him with full respect. And the opposed enemies know that when this verse was revealed, they said: "O Messenger of Allah! We know how to salute you, so let us know how to utter *ṣalawāt* upon you."

The Prophet stated: "Say: 'O Allah, bless Muhammad and his Household as You blessed Ibrahim and his family, for indeed You are the Glorious and Praiseworthy!' So is there anyone among you to oppose this?"

They said: "No."

Ma'mūn said: "This is a matter to which there is no objection, and almost all agree with it, so do you have anything about the Household to tell us from the Qur'an?"

In this blessed verse of uttering blessing upon Muhammad there is a secret, because God commands us to bless Muhammad, but not Muhammad and his Household. However, all these hadiths consider blessing to be upon him and his Household.

The Unity of the Souls of the Imams with the Prophet, Peace Be upon Them All

The secret of interpretation of this verse by the Prophet is that he wanted to convey this message: that the pure souls of his Household are connected to the soul of the Prophet, and in fact there is no detachment between their souls and the soul of the Prophet. This is the station of annihilation by which their souls are united with the soul of the Prophet. At a higher level of perfection is the annihilation of their souls

So the blessing upon the Prophet mentioned in the verse is in fact blessing upon his Household as well, and to utter *ṣalawāt* upon him is precisely to utter *ṣalawāt* upon his Household. As the Holy Qur'an mentions:

ذُرِّيَّةً بَعْضُهَا مِنْ بَعْضٍ وَاللهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ.

Descendants, some of them from others. And Allah is Hearing and Knowing (3: 34).

The Qur'an also states:

هُنَالِكَ الْوَلَايَةُ لِلَّهِ الْحَقِّ هُوَ خَيْرٌ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ عُقْبًا.

There the guardianship is [completely] for Allah, the Truth. He is best in reward and best in outcome (18:44).

And we know that guardianship belongs only to Allah. So all other guardianships are through His authority; because there is no more real existence, and all existents receive their reality from Him, the Source of all sources.

A Discussion on *Ṣalawāt*s in the *Ṣaḥīfah* from a Different Angle

If one says that in the verse God commands His servants to utter blessing upon the Messenger only, why has the Prophet asked us to utter blessings upon his Household after that? The Prophet, according to the Qur'an, should say:

قُولُوا: اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ.

Say: O Allah! Bless Muhammad as You blessed Ibrahim.

In response to this question, we should say that the aim of the Prophet was to remind the people of the situation of his Household and how they are important for him and to promote his prophetic mission. To remember this central position of his decedents in Islam, we have to adhere the Household to the name of Muhammad when offering blessings upon him.

In our daily prayer we say:

وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّداً عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُه

"...and I bear witness that Muhammad is His servant and His Messenger," and after that we say:

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِ مُحَمَّد

"...O Allah, bless Muhammad and his Household." After uttering *ṣalawāt* upon them, we pray for the Prophet separately and say:

وَتَقَبَّلْ شَفَاعَتَهُ وَارْفَعْ دَرَجَتَهُ وَقَرِّبْ وَسِيلَتَهُ وَأَدْخِلْنَا فِي زُمْرَتِه

"Accept his intercession [for us], raise his position, bring closer his means to us, and let us be among his followers."

Ṣadūq in *Amālī* says:

> After the demise of the Prophet, Imam Ali made a speech, saying:
>
> بِالشَّهَادَتَيْنِ تَدْخُلُونَ الْجَنَّةَ، وَبِالصَّلَاةِ تَنَالُونَ الرَّحْمَةَ؛ فَأَكْثِرُوا مِنَ الصَّلَاةِ عَلَى نَبِيِّكُمْ وَآلِهِ. إِنَّ اللهَ وَمَلَائِكَتَهُ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيماً.
>
> "You will enter Paradise by means of [uttering] two witnesses; by means of prayer you receive mercy! So utter [more] blessing upon your Prophet and his Household. *Surely Allah and His angels send their blessings to the Messenger. O you who believe, you [too] send him your blessings and greet him with full respect* (33:56)."[106]

We see that Imam Ali placed blessings upon the Household after the name of the Prophet. As another point of evidence for our argument, we mention a prayer from *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* in which Imam Sajjād, after mentioning Muhammad's name, also utters blessing upon him and his Household:

وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي مَنَّ عَلَيْنَا بِمُحَمَّدٍ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم دُونَ الْأُمَمِ الْمَاضِيَةِ وَالْقُرُونِ السَّالِفَةِ.[107]

"Praise belongs to Allah, Who has been kind to us by sending Muhammad—blessings be upon him and his Household—to us while other generations in bygone centuries were deprived of this favor."

The Imam also says:

اللّهمّ صَلّ عَلَى محمّدٍ وَ آلِهِ كَمَا شَرَّفْتَنَا بِهِ، وَ صَلّ عَلَى محمّدٍ وَ آلِهِ كَمَا أوْجَبْتَ لَنَا الحَقّ عَلَى الخَلْقِ بِسَبَبِه.[108]

"O Allah, bless Muhammad and his Household as you honored us with him, and bless Muhammad and his Household as through him You bless us with him while excluding [other] people [from his being]!"

The third objection to uttering blessings upon the Household after the Prophet is that the blessing on the Household in the following morning and evening prayers seems to be added later and is not there in the original.

اللّهمّ فَصَلّ عَلَى مُحمّدٍ وَ آلِهِ أكْثَرَ مَا صَلّيْتَ عَلَى أحَدٍ مِنْ خَلْقِكَ، وَ آتِهِ عَنّا أفْضَلَ مَا آتَيْتَ أحَداً مِنْ عِبَادِكَ، وَ اجْزِهِ عَنّا أفْضَلَ وَ أكْرَمَ مَا جَزَيْتَ أحَداً مِنْ أنْبِيَائِكَ عَنْ اُمّتِهِ؛

"O Allah, bless Muhammad and his Household more than You bless everyone among Your creatures! And bestow on him from us more than You bestow on anyone among your servants! And reward him by us with the most reward of anyone of the messengers by their people!"

The point is that if here, the word "Household" was in the original part of the sentence, it would be better for the pronouns to be in the plural; that is, the term

آتِهِ

would have to be

آتِهِم

("bestow upon them") and

اجْزِهِم

("reward them by us!"); and the last sentence, that is:

أحَداً مِنْ أنْبِيَائِكَ عَنْ اُمّتِهِ

would need to be written as:

أحَداً مِنْ أنْبِيَائِكَ وَ آلِهِ عَنْ اُمّتِهِم

("You have rewarded Your messengers and their household from their nations.")

The answer to this objection is: if "uttering blessing upon Muhammad and his Household" was in the first sentence, the pronoun would have to be in the plural. However, there is a sentence before that in which only Muhammad's name is mentioned, and these pronouns, after "bless Muhammad and his Household," refer to him, not to the Household. The previous sentence is:

وَأنَّ مُحَمَّداً عَبْدُكَ وَرَسُولُكَ وَخِيَرَتُكَ مِنْ خَلْقِكَ حَمَّلْتَهُ رِسَالَتَكَ فَأدّاهَا وَأمَرْتَهُ بِالنُّصْحِ لِأُمَّتِهِ فَنَصَحَ لَهَا، اللّهُمَّ فَصَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِه.[109]

"...and indeed Muhammad is Your slave and Your Messenger, he is Your chosen from among Your servants, You gave him Your mission and he carried it out; You commanded him kindly to advise his nation and he did so—O Allah, so bless Muhammad and his Household." Here, after praising and blessing Muhammad and his Household, in his supplication he states: "O Allah, bestow upon him, from us, the best thing You have bestowed upon anyone of Your servants!"

So looking at the supplication from this angle, it is very eloquent and without any Arabic grammatical problems.

The fourth objection is that there are many blessings in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* that we cannot find in the discovered copy. Therefore, we must say that in this regard, the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* is more original, and blessings in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* have been added to it. The answer to this objection is that having agreed with this point, we face a bigger problem, which is: Who has added these extras to the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*?

Is it possible that the Imams after the fourth Imam have added them to the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*? Or is it the Shi'a scholars who have done this? And when did this alteration occur?

As we cannot reconcile the correctness of "uttering blessings" and the incorrectness of "uttering blessings," we have to accept the authenticity of one edition only. There is a consensus among the scholars of the hadiths in such cases that we have to choose the possibility that nothing has been added, so the extra "blessings" in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* are not something that has been added to it later; rather, they were part of it; therefore, the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* has less than the original copy.

The fifth objection to the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* is that if in two places blessings (*ṣalawāts*) have been mentioned in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, this means that the lack of blessings in other place of this *Ṣaḥīfah* is not due to the writer's reservation (*taqiyyah*) or any other reason such as

bigotry; rather, we must consider extra *ṣalawāts* in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* as something recommendable, not obligatory.

The response to this objection is that why should we consider the deletion of *ṣalawāts* to be impartial?! Mentioning just two *ṣalawāts* all through the book and then removing most of them can be a kind dishonesty.

As we have noticed, some narrators of supplications in the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* are from among the Sunni Shāfi'ī and Ḥanafī, and we have no compelling evidence that they are authorized narrators in the Shi'a view.

The great scholar Ḥājj Sayyid 'Azizullāh Ṭabāṭabā'ī has stated:

> In the library of Zāhiriyyah in Damashq, I came across a copy of *Tanzīh al-Anbīyā wa al-A'immah* by Sayyid Murtaḍā A'lam al-Hudā. The last part of this book on *Tanzīh al-A'immah* (purity of the Imams) has been eliminated by a Sunni commentator. He had written in the introduction of the book: 'This part was false, so I tore it apart and threw it into the sea!'"

With the same approach, through fourteen centuries, we see that thousands of Shi'a books and many libraries have been burnt into ashes by some extreme Sunni rulers.

The library of Ray had four hundred thousand books, and it was burnt down just because the people of this city were Shi'a. The founder of this great library was Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād, who built many mosques and schools, and this great library for this city with a population of one million.

Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavī, an arrogant and dictator king who was hostile to the Shi'a, sent a large army to Ray. He massacred the people of the town and commanded that all libraries in the city be burnt down. His people checked the books and put into the fire any book that had even a small amount of content about the Shi'a.

They also burnt down the libraries of Ḥalab and Ṭarāblus as well as the library of Shāpūr in Baghdad, which was one of the greatest Shi'a libraries.[110]

Yāqūt Ḥamawī, in *Bayn al-Sūrayn*, says:

> Tathniyat Sūr al-Madīna was the name of a large district in the borough of Karkh in Baghdad. In that area, there was a huge library that had been built by Abu Naṣr Shāpūr Ibn Ardashīr, the minister of King Bahā al-Dawlah Ibn 'Aḍud al-Dawlah Daylamī. It is said that this library was one of the biggest libraries in the world and had the oldest manuscripts and books from very well-known Muslim scholars.

> As the first Ṭughrul Bayk, the king of the Seljuq dynasty, entered Baghdad in 447 AH, all the books in that library, as well as the other books in the different places of Karkh, a famous area in Baghdad, were burned into ashes. Abu Bakr Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Isā Ibn Khalid Sūrī, known as Makkī (d. 322 AH), was from this area. He was a Muḥaddith and has narrated hadiths from Abu al-'Aynā and some others. And Abu Omar Ibn Ḥayyavayh Kharrāz and Dār Quṭnī have narrated from him.[111]

The libraries and Shaykh Ṭūsī's study chair and his home were also set on fire in Karkh. After this incident, Shaykh Ṭūsī fled to the city of Najaf and began to teach in this city.

Ibn Athīr in his *al-Tārīkh*, regarding the events of the year 441 AH, writes:

> In this year, they prohibited the people of Karkh (who were all Shi'a) from mourning on the Day of 'Āshūrā.
>
> However, the people of Karkh did not take the prohibition seriously and were mourning for the Imam during the time of Muaḥarram, which caused a severe eruption of hostilities between the Sunnis and Shi'a in the town. The enmities went on between both parties until the Turks passing through the town set up their tents among the Sunnis and Shi'a. It was then both sides stopped fighting.
>
> After this event, the people in Karkh began building a wall, as a defense, around the town. On the other side, when the Sunnis saw them build a wall around their town, they built another wall around their own area. In this way, both the Shi'a and Sunnis spent a lot to build such walls.
>
> The Abbasid caliph commanded Abu Muhammad Ibn Nasawī to arbitrate and bring peace between the groups. Upon hearing the news, both the Shi'a and the Sunnis objected to his interfering,[112] and they demonstrated against this decision and forced Nasawī to withdraw from mediation between them.

Ibn Athīr, about the aforementioned events in 441 AH, says: "This year, in the month of Ṣafar, the sedition in Baghdad erupted again, and was more serious than the previous seditions that had occurred between the Shi'a and the Sunnis for years. The reason for this severe conflict is that they had not yet forgotten their previous hostility against each other."[113]

It was because the Shi'a people in Karkh began to build a gate for their fish market. They also built a tower at the entrance, and they wrote in gold over it this sentence:

مُحَمَّدٌ وَعَلِيٌّ خَيْرُ الْبَشَرِ

"Muhammad and Ali are the best humans."

The Sunnis reported this matter to the Abbāsid caliph, claiming that the Shi'a had written:

مُحَمَّدٌ وَعَلِيٌّ خَيْرُ الْبَشَرِ، فَمَنْ رَضِيَ فَقَدْ شَكَرَ، وَمَنْ أَبَى فَقَدْ كَفَرَ

"Muhammad and Ali are the best humans, so whoever is pleased with this surely expresses gratitude, and whoever avoids it certainly commits sins."

The caliph, al-Qā'im bi Amrillah, sent two representatives, Abu Tamām from the Abbāsid and 'Adnān Ibn Raḍī from the Imam, to launch an investigation on this matter. Both representatives confirmed that the claim against the Shi'a was baseless and wrote to the caliph:

> The people of Karkh have not written other than
>
> مُحَمَّدٌ وَعَلِيٌّ خَيْرُ الْبَشَرِ

So the caliph and Nawwāb Raḥīm requested that both groups stop fighting over this matter, but they did not listen to them.

Ibn Madhhab Qāḍī and Zuhayrī and a few others from the Ḥanbalī *'ulamā*, from among the followers of 'Abd al-Ṣamad, always incited the Sunnis and made them clash with the Shi'a. They even stopped water from running to Karkh and prevented people from carrying any water there.

When the dam of the river Īsā, which was supplying water to Karkh, was broken, the people of the city had to bring the necessary water from the river Dajlah. They carried water in pots and buckets from Dajlah and then added rose-water to it and invited people to drink free sweet water. By this action, they wanted to say: "The water you have banned us from drinking, now see that we have made our water sweet and give it free to people to drink!" This action made the Sunnis angrier.

The head of ministers of the court (*Ra'īs al-Ru'asā*)[114] became harsh against the Shi'a and forced them to wipe the phrase

مُحَمَّدٌ وَعَلِيٌّ خَيْرُ الْبَشَرِ

from the gate. In response to this request, they replaced the phrase with

عَلَيْهِمَا السَّلَامُ: مُحَمَّدٌ وَعَلِيٌّ

"upon them be peace: Muhammad and Ali."

However, the Sunnis were not pleased with this replacement and said:

> We will not be satisfied with what they have written there unless they take away the bricks on which
>
> مُحَمَّدٌ وعَلِيٌّ
>
> is written.

They also asked the people to stop mentioning

حَيَّ عَلَى خَيْرِ الْعَمَلِ

in their call to prayer.

The Shi'a refused to agree with them, and fighting continued until the third of Rabī' al-Awwal, and on that day, a man of the Hashimite tribe from the Sunnis was killed. His relatives laid his corpse on a hearse and carried it through the districts of Baṣra and some other districts of the Sunnis. They invited the people to demand his blood-money. In the end, they took the corpse to the graveyard to bury him next to Ḥanbal, where a great number of Sunnis gathered.

When the Sunnis returned from the graveyard, they hastened to the graveyard of Kaẓimayn. The gate to graveyard was closed. Some of them dug a big hole under the wall and threatened the watchman to make him open the gate.

The watchman was frightened and immediately opened the gate. The Sunnis entered and rushed into the shrine of the Holiness Imam Kāẓim Mūsā Ibn Ja'far and Imam Jawād Muhammad Ibn Ali and plundered all the possessions of the shrine: the ancient gold and silver lanterns, gold and silver items on the altar, curtains, and other belongings of the shrine. Then they went to other graves and the buildings belonging to the graves and took all the valuable things from that area.

The next morning again they came together and headed for Kaẓimayn. They burnt the houses and set the Holiness Mūsā Ibn Ja'far and the grave of his grandson the Holiness Muhammad Ibn Ali on fire. They also burnt all the neighboring graves. At the end they burnt the graves of sons of Banī Buyah, Mu'izz al-Dawlah, Jalāl al-Dawlah, the two Shi'a ministers of the kingdom of Banī Buyah. The grave of Ja'far, the son of Ja'far Manṣūr, the grave of Amīr Muham–mad Ibn al-Rashīd, and the grave of his mother, Zubaydah, were set on fire.

And the next day, the fifth of Rabī' al-Awwal, they returned to the same place and dug up the graves of the Holiness Mūsā Ibn Ja'far and Muhammad Ibn Ali so as to bury them where Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal

was buried. However, they mistakenly dug another grave next to them. The representative of the Abbāsī caliphate, Abu Tamām, heard the news, so they immediately went to the graveyard and stopped them from digging the graves.

On the other hand, the people of Karkh went to the head of the Sunni jurists and began plundering whatever they came across. They killed the teacher of Ḥanafī fiqh, Aba Sa'd Sarakhsī. Then they set fire to the caravanserai and burnt down the houses of the scholars. The calamity moved from the west of Baghdad to the east, and killing the people and looting their properties continued up to the markets in the town.

When the news of the setting on fire of the shrine and graves of the Imam reached the governor of Egypt, Nūr al-Dawlah Dubays Ibn Mazīd, who was a sincere lover of Ahl al-Bayt, he became very angry and heartbroken; therefore, he issued an order to the people under his rule in Egypt not to deliver any sermons in the name of the caliph, al-Qā'im bi Amrillah. Then, when they sent messages to him reproaching him for his conduct, he made an excuse and said the people in Egypt and many other places under his control were Shi'a, so all of them avoided listening to sermons in the caliph's name. However, after a period of time, the sermons were delivered in the name of the caliph again and everything returned to normal.[115]

'Allāmah Amīnī, on the aforementioned events we narrated from *Tārīkh* of Ibn Athīr, says that Ibn Juzī has narrated in *al-Muntaẓam*, volume 8, page 150, that 'Ayyār Ṭaqṭaqī from the people of Darzījān was asked to go to the court and show his regret and repentance for his role in aggressive behaviors in the Karkh events. He used to confine the Shi'a to their houses, torture them, and cause other hostile action to them. This man killed two Shi'a and hung them on the gate of Qallā'ayn. He also killed three men, severed their heads, and then threw them on the ground in front of the people of Karkh and said: "Prepare your dinner with these two heads and have them for lunch."

He then went to a city gate called Za'farānī and asked the Shi'a people living around the gate to pay him one hundred thousand dinars. He threatened them that if they refused to pay such an amount, he would set the gate of Za'farānī on fire. The people refused to pay the money and clashed with him, and a Hāshimī man was killed. The people carried his body on their shoulders to the graveyard of the Quraysh in Kāẓimayn.

Later on, Ṭaqṭaqī instigated the Sunnis in Baghdad and made them go the graveyard of Bāb al-Tabn in Kāẓimayn to dig under the wall of the shrine and take away valuable things belonging to the

place. They entered the graveyard and looted whatever they could, brought out some of the corpses from the graves, and set them on fire. Among them were the corpses of Awnī, Nāshī (Ali Ibn Waṣīf), and Jazū'ī (the famous poets of the Household); and they took some other corpses and carried them to some distant places to bury them. They set the empty old graves on fire so that no sign of them would remain there. They even burnt two ancient small wooden shrines of Imam Mūsā Ibn Ja'far and Imam Muhammad Ibn Ali. They dug up one of the graves to take away the corpse of the Imam and then bury it next to the grave of Ahmad Ḥanbal, but at that very moment the representative of the government with other people arrived and stopped them from doing so.

The above-mentioned incidents have been briefly narrated by Ibn 'Imād in *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, and by Ibn Kathīr in his *Tārīkh*, volume 12, page 62.[116]

Why Shaykh Ṭūsī Emigrated from Baghdad to the City of Najaf al-Ashraf

It was in this period of time that Shaykh Ṭūsī, Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Hasan, known as Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah, set out for Najaf. Like his master Sayyid Murtaḍā, he was living in Karkh. Ra'īs al-Ru'asā, the governor of the caliph, Qā'im Billah, was a cruel man to all Shi'a, especially to *'ulamā*. He had planned to kill Shaykh Ṭūsī, and the shaykh become aware of his plan, so he decided to move to Najaf. As soon as he left the city, the governor plundered his property and set all his books on fire.

At that time, Najaf al-Ashraf was an unknown city; however, after Shaykh Ṭūsī settled in the city and started teaching, it gradually became famous. Since then many students and scholars have emigrated to the city to learn Islamic studies. The legacy of Ṭūsī and the scholars after him made Najaf the center of Islamic sciences through the last ten centuries, which still continues.

It was as if the prayers below by Sayyid Murtaḍā for his student, Shaykh Ṭūsī, were granted:

وَلَوِ اسْتَطَعْتُ جَعَلْتُ دَارَ إِقَامَتِي تِلْكَ الْقُبُورَ الزُّهْرَ حَتَّى أُقْبَرَ

"...and if I could, I would set up my dwelling by those illuminating graves until I was buried in a grave."

So, Shaykh Ṭūsī chose Najaf Ashraf as his dwelling. He died and was buried in this city at the north part of the shrine. The shaykh was born in 385 AH and died in 460.

We addressed the story of such a hard time for Shi'a scholars to reveal how they protected the Imami creeds. They truly insisted that

حَيَّ عَلَى خَيْرِ الْعَمَل

is part of the original call to prayer (*adhān*) and that

الصَّلٰوةُ خَيْرٌ مِنَ النَّوْمِ

was substituted by Omar, which was a forbidden innovation in Islam.

The Murder of Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn Zaydī Because of His Being a Shi'a

According to *al-Fuṣūl Fakhriyyah,* in the year 711 AH, Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn Abu al-Faḍl Muhammad Ibn Majd al-Dīn al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Zayd and his two sons, Shams al-Dīn Husayn and Sharaf al-Dīn Ali, who were of the lineage of Zayd Ibn Dā'ī, were killed in Baghdad. Some hard-hearted and callous people tore apart the body of Sayyid.

The reason for the enmity of these people toward him was that he had trained Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Hasan Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Muṭahhar 'Allāmah Ḥillī to go to al-Jāytū Sultan Muhammad Khodā Bandeh (680–716 AH) to discuss with the Sunni scholars in the presence of the Sultan Muhammad. In that session, Sultan Muhammad embraced the religion of the Shi'a. Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn later become the representative of the sultan in some territories of Khodā Bandeh.[117]

In any case, we addressed this event here in order to show that they did not hesitate to silence the Shi'a by killing them, let alone by removing "uttering blessings" upon Muhammad and his Household from *Ṣaḥifah al-Sajjādiyyah,* as we already explained.

Concerning *Ṣalawāt al-Batrā'*

The sixth objection to uttering blessings upon the Household after the Prophet is that the Prophet in his saying has taught us not to utter blessings upon his Household after his name:

لَا تُصَلُّوا عَلَيَّ صَلٰوةً بَتْرَى

"Do not bless Muhammad at the *Batrā'* prayer.

The first answer to this objection is the following:
The accurate term here is

بَتْرَاء

not

بَتْرى

and

بَتْراء

means "incomplete," which should be a feminine mode of

أبتر

(*abtar*) after the adjective

صَلَوةٌ

because the term

أبتر

is an attribute that stands for adjective. In Arabic grammar, the root masculine word is

افعَل

and its feminine is

فَعلَاء

like the words

أبيَض بَيضَاء -أسْمَر سَمرَاء

and

أعْوَر عَوْرَاء

Unless the verb

افعَل

is in the comparative case, whose feminine is

فَعلَى

like

عَطْشَان عَطْشَى، سَكْرَان سَكْرَى، ظَمآن ظَمْآى

or it is an adjective in the style of

فَعلَان

whose feminine is

فَعلَى

like

عَطْشَان عَطْشَى، سَكْرَان سَكْرَى، ظَمآن ظَمْآى

The second case is that the sentence

لَاتُصَلُّوا عَلَيَّ صَلَوةً بَتْرى

is not a hadith, neither for the Shi'a nor the Sunnis. We do not have a hadith on this sentence or a narration to contain such concept in Shi'a hadith collections like Majlisī's *Bihār al-Anwār*, Shaykh Ḥurr Āmilī's *Wasā'il al-Shi'a*, Fayḍ Kashani's *al-Wāfi*, or in the Sunnis' *Ṣiḥāḥ* and *Sunan* (hadith collections)[118] or Suyūṭī, in *al-Jāmi al-Ṣaghīr fi Ahadith al-Bashīr al-Nadhīr*, and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Manāwī in the *Kunūz al-Ḥaqā'iq fi Hadith Khayr al-Khalā'iq*, which are devoted to Prophetic hadiths. Only Ibn Ḥajar Haythamī Mālikī has mentioned it in *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah* on page 87 as follows:

لَاتُصَلُّوا عَلَيَّ الصَّلَوٰةَ الْبَتْرَاء

Here he has mentioned it with the words

الصَّلَوٰة

and

الْبَتْرَاء

'Allāmah Amīnī has mentioned it from *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah* in his *al-Ghadīr*, volume 2, page 303.

So the content of the saying in Sunni hadiths is similar to Majlisī's narrative in *Bihār al-Anwār*, volume 5, page 209. Majlisī has narrated it from the *Tafsīr Nu'mānī* from Imam Ali. Their narrative of this saying is as follows:

هَذَا مَعَ عِلْمِهِمْ بِمَا قَالَهُ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم وَهُوَ قَوْلُهُ: لَاتُصَلُّوا عَلَيَّ صَلَوٰةً مَبْتُورَةً إِذَا صَلَّيْتُمْ عَلَيَّ
بَلْ صَلُّوا عَلَى أَهْلِ بَيْتِي وَلَا تَقْطَعُوهُمْ مِنِّي، فَإِنَّ كُلَّ سَبَبٍ وَنَسَبٍ مُنْقَطِعٌ يَوْمَ الْقِيمَةِ إِلَّا سَبَبِي وَنَسَبِي.

"This was despite their knowledge of what the Prophet, may Allah's peace and blessing be upon him, said. The Prophet stated: 'In your prayer, do not utter blessing upon me alone, but utter blessing upon my Household as well. Do not cut them off from me, for indeed everything will be separated on the Day of Resurrection but my Household from me.'"

'Allāmah Majlisī has narrated a hadith with similar content in *Bihār al-Anwār*, volume 93, page 14. The hadith is like the one we have already addressed from Ṣadūq by means of his series of chains from Abdullah Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn Ali, who narrated from his father and his grandfather, saying that the Prophet stated:

مَنْ قَالَ: صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَ آلِهِ، قَالَ اللهُ جَلَّ جَلَالُهُ: صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْكَ: فَلْيُكْثِرْ مِنْ ذَلِكَ: وَ مَنْ قَالَ: صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ، وَلَمْ يُصَلِّ عَلَى آلِهِ لَمْ يَجِدْ رِيحَ الْجَنَّةِ، وَ رِيحُهَا تُوجَدُ مِنْ مَسِيرَةِ خَمْسِمِائَةِ عَامٍ.[119]

Whoever says: "May Allah's blessing be upon Muhammad and his Household," Allah, glory to Him says: "Let Allah's blessing be upon you!" Therefore. he must increase his offering of blessings! And he who says: "May Allah's blessing be upon Muhammad," but avoids uttering blessings upon his Household, he will not smell the pleasing odor of Paradise, the very odor that one can smell at a distance of five hundred years.

Moreover Shaykh Ṣadūq, by means of his chains, has narrated from the Holiness Imam Bāqir, quoting his great-grandfathers, saying:

The Messenger of Allah stated:

مَنْ صَلَّى عَلَيَّ وَلَمْ يُصَلِّ عَلَى آلِي لَمْ يَجِدْ رِيحَ الْجَنَّةِ، وَإِنَّ رِيحَهَا لَتُوجَدُ مِنْ مَسِيرَةِ خَمْسِمِائَةِ عَامٍ.

"One who utters blessing upon me but not upon my Household, that one will not smell the pleasing odor of Paradise, the same odor that can be smelt at a distance of five hundred years."

Another advantage that has been mentioned for the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* is its valid chains of narration. We first must explain the logic of this assertion before we give an answer to it.

They say the chain is valid because it starts with:

حَدَّثَنَا السَّيِّدُ الأَجَلُّ بَهَاءُ الشَّرَفِ...

"narrated to us by the great, honored, and dignified Sayyid..."

But the person who says

حَدَّثَنَا

here is missing, and we do not know who narrated it from the great Sayyid.

Muḥaqqiq Dāmād has said:

The first narrator, that is, the relater of

حَدَّثَنَا

is a famous Arabic litterateur, 'Amīd al-Ru'asā Hibatullāh Ibn Ḥāmid Ibn Ayyūb Ibn Ali Ibn Ayyūb.

Shaykh Bahā'ī believed:

> The person who said
>
> حَدَّثَنَا
>
> was Shaykh Abu al-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sakūn Ḥillī Naḥwī. According to Suyūṭī, he died in Bughyah, and according to Abdullah Afandī Tabrizi in *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā*, he died in 606 AH. According to Ibn Sakūn, 'Amīd al-Ru'asā was a contemporary of Sayyid Fakhkhār Ibn Ma'd Mūsawī, so they are both of the same rank and have no priority one over the other in terms of time precedence.

Shaykh Ali Ibn Ahmad, known as Sadīdī, had a copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah* written by Ibn Sakūn, but this again does not prove its priority. Having recounted all the possibilities, we understand that we do not have any certain proof for the narrator of

حَدَّثَنَا.

However, the element that gives high value to the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* in the Shrine of Imam Riḍā is that the chain of the hadith is addressed in this *Ṣaḥīfah*. Another advantage in this copy is that the name of the compiler is printed on it. He is Hasan Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Ilzāmī,[120] who compiled this copy in 416 AH.

In the introduction of this copy, Hasan Ibn Ibrahim says that it was Abu al-Qāsim Abdullah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Salamah Farhādh Jirdī who had permitted him to narrate the *Ṣaḥīfah* of his master, Abu Bakr Kermānī. And Abu Bakr Kermānī is the first narrator of this *Ṣaḥīfah*, which is a different chain from the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*.

In contrast to the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, whose chain is mentioned in the beginning, the chain of the discovered copy comes at the end of the book.

With regard to the credibility of the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* mentioned above, we must say that the reliability of 'Amīd al-Ru'asā and Ibn Sakūn are the same, because they are both great Shi'a scholars. Therefore, whether the narrator of

حَدَّثَنَا

is 'Amīd al-Ru'asā or Ibn Sakūn, there is no difference in the validity of the chain.[121]

In addition, we generally know that one of these two reliable persons is in the chain, so even if we do not know specifically which one is in the chain, the hadith is still valid.

For example, when you come across a hadith whose narrator says:

عَنْ أحَدِهِما عليهما السّلام

(one of them, peace be upon them), and you know the narrator is one of the Holy Imams—either Imam Bāqir or Imam Ṣādiq—but you are not quite sure which Imam—in this case certainly you will take the hadith as a valid one and not say it is invalid because the narrator has not specified the name of Imam.

In addition, some scholars, like Mudarris Chahardehī, believe that 'Amīd al-Ru'asā and Ibn Sakūn are at the same level in terms of credibility.[122] However, some scholars believe they are both the narrators of

حَدَّثَنَا

In this group is Mīrzā Abdullah Afandī. He says:

> That which is certain to me is that the narrators of
>
> حَدَّثَنَا
>
> are both of them, and they are at the same rank. They were both Ibn 'Aṣṣār Lughawī's students.[123]

Muḥaddith Jazāy'irī in his edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah* says: "Both opinions (mentioned above) are correct, because according to the books of permissions (*Ijāzāt*), they have narrated the noble *Ṣaḥīfah* from the Greatest Sayyid (*Sayyid al-Ajal*), which refers to Bahā al-Sharaf.[124]

Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Āmilī says: "The narrator must certainly be Ibn Sakūn."[125] He strongly rejects the possibility of 'Amīd al-Ru'asā as the narrator.

Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir Astarābādī, known as Mīr Dāmād, is certain that the narrator is 'Amīd al-Ru'asā. In his *Sharh al-Ṣaḥīfah* he says:

> The term
>
> حَدَّثَنَا
>
> in this style of expression is specified for 'Amīd al-Dīn,[126] who was a pillar of Islam and a great scholar among our companions, may Allah be pleased with them all. It was this man who narrated the noble *Ṣaḥīfah* from the great Sayyid Bahā' al-Sharaf.

He continues:

Our good reason and witness for what we say is a hand-written copy that our expert Shaykh al-Shahīd al-Thānī, may Allah bless him, has checked and compared with Ibn Sakūn's copy. Al-Shahīd al-Thānī says:

> In Ibn Sakūn's copy, 'Amīd al-Dīn 'Amīd al-Ru'asā says:
>
> > The Greatest Sayyid, the scholar and the pillar of Islam Abu Ja'far al-Qāsim Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Mu'ayyah, is reliable, and I narrated it to him from Sayyid Bahā' al-Sharaf Ibn al-Hasan Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad, who is in the chain of narrations, and his name has been mentioned behind this page. And I permitted him to narrate, according to what I have assigned and mentioned to him. And he wrote this:
> >
> > > Hibatullāh Ibn Ḥāmid Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ayyūb Ibn Ali Ibn Ayyūb, in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal in the year 603 AH.
> > >
> > > والحَمدِلله الرّحمن الرّحيم، وَصَلَاتُهُ وتسليمُهُ على رسوله سَيِّدنا محمّد المصطفى و تسليمُهُ على آلِهِ الغُرّ اللّهَامِيم.[127]
> > >
> > > "...and praise belongs to Allah the All-Compassionate and All-Merciful, and His blessing and praise be upon His Messenger, our Master Muhammad al-Muṣṭafā, and peace be upon his Household, the Pure and Brilliant of all pure and brilliant."[128]

The Statements of 'Amīd al-Ru'asā on *Ṣaḥīfah*

As is seen in the copy in which Mir Dāmād witnessed that Shahīd checked his copy with Ibn Sakūn, and at the end of his copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, we see the permission of Hibatullah Ibn Ḥāmid Ibn Ahmad ('Amīd al-Ru'asā), by which he has given permission to Ibn Mu'ayyah through the Greatest Sayyid. Therefore, it is certain that 'Amīd al-Ru'asā has narrated from the Greatest Sayyid.

Sayyid Ali-khān Madanī Shirazi, in his *Sharh Ṣaḥīfah*, has followed al-Thānī and believed that the narrator of

حَدَّثَنا

is 'Amīd al-Ru'asā, because he says:

وَهُوَ الصَّحِيحُ كَمَا دَلَّ عَلَيْهِ مَا وُجِدَ بِخَطِّ الْمُحَقِّقِ الشَّهِيدِ (رحمه الله عليه).[129]

"And it is quite right, for it indicates what is in al-Muḥaqqiq al-Shahīd [Thānī]'s edition of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, may Allah bless him."

After relating the narration to 'Amīd al-Ru'asā, Mir Dāmād says: "However, the copy that is narrated by Ali Ibn Sakūn has the following chain: Abu Ali Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Ashnās Bazzāz, who informed us that he received the hadith from Abu al-Mufaḍḍal Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn Muṭṭalib Shaybānī," and he continues up to the end of the book."

There is another copy whose chain is as follows: "Narrated to us by the greatest Shaykh Imam Sa'īd Abu Ali Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ṭūsī, it goes up to the end of the chain that is mentioned in the margin of this copy."[130]

In an explanation of the above statement, Muḥaddith Jazā'irī says:

> However, this copy, which is mentioned in the margin, begins with
>
> حَدَّثَنَا شيخ أجل
>
> ("the greatest Shaykh related to us"), and this is the very copy that Fāḍil Sadīdī has related from the Ibn Idrīs, where he explains the differences between that and the copy of Ibn Sakūn. However, in many editions of the *Ṣaḥifah*, we found that the narrator of
>
> حَدَّثَنَا
>
> was Ibn Idris.[131]

To sum up, the total number of copies that Mīr Dāmād introduces is three: the first copy is from 'Amīd al-Ru'asā, narrated by the Greatest Shaykh; the second is the copy of Ibn Sakūn, narrated by Ibn Ashnās Bazzāz; the third one is the copy Sadīdī, narrated by Ibn Idrīs from Abu Ali Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ṭūsī (Shaykh Ṭūsī's son).

Having known other copies, one cannot consider an edition whose narrator is 'Amīd al-Ru'asā, because first, although the hadith of 'Amīd al-Ru'asā from the Greatest Shaykh is valid, there is lacking the term

حَدَّثَنَا

so the narrator of

حَدَّثَنَا

could be Ali Ibn Sakūn. Second, the possibility exists that it is Ibn Sakūn, as the narrator still does not reject the possibility that he has narrated the hadith of the Greatest Sayyid, because Ali Ibn Sakūn could narrate the hadith from two different chains: first from Ibn Ashnās and the second one from the Greatest Sayyid.

Another possibility is to say that the narrator of

حَدَّثنا

could be both 'Amīd al-Ru'asā and Ibn Sakūn. We have three reasons for this possibility:

The first one is the statement of Mīrzā Abdullah Afandī, who is talented in the science of hadith (*fann al-rijāl* and *dirayah*). He says:

الْحَقُّ عِندِی أنَّ القائلَ بهِ کِلاهُما

"The truth is that the narrators were both of them."

The second reason is Muḥaddith Jazā'irī's statement. He says:

وَکِلاهُما حَسَنٌ لِما یَظهَرُ مِن کُتُبِ الاِجازاتِ مِن أنَّهُما یَروِیانِ الصَّحیفَةَ الشَّریفَةَ عَنِ السَّیِّدِ الاَجَلِّ.[132]

"...and according to the books of *al-Ijāzāt,* both of them are authorized, as is mentioned, and they have both narrated the *Ṣaḥīfah* from the Greatest Sayyid."

The third is the statement of Muhammad Taqī Majlisī where he says: "The names of both are mentioned in our *al-Ijāzāt.*"

If these scholars so clearly admit that both Ali Ibn Sakūn and 'Amīd al-Ru'asā have narrated the *Ṣaḥīfah* from the Greatest Sayyid, then no doubt remains on this issue.

Therefore, the term

حَدَّثنا

is used by two persons who are the narrators of the *Ṣaḥīfah,* who are both known to us.

In addition to the three above-mentioned cases, there are other Shi'a scholars who, without any intermediate narrator, have narrated *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* from the Greatest Sayyid; therefore the narrators of

حَدَّثنا

are not solely 'Amīd al-Ru'asā and Ibn Sakūn.

This case is quite clearly mentioned in the volume of *Ijāzāt* (permissions) in *Bihār al-Anwār*. In the following discussion, we will address some of them:

Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī, from his father, has narrated from many narrators of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. For example, his father, Mullā Muhammad Taqī, told him: "I am narrating the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Shaykh Ali, from Shaykh Ali Ibn Hilāl, from Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn." Then he mentions one scholar after another until he reaches the names 'Allāmah Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Nimā, Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Fakhkhār Ibn Ma'd Mūsawī, Sayyid Abdullah Ibn Zuhrah, who narrates from Ibn Idrīs, 'Amīd al-Ru'asā Hibatullah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ayyūb, Ali Ibn

Sakūn, from the Greatest Sayyid, up to the end of the chain of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah.*[133]

Here we see that besides 'Amīd al-Ru'asā and Ibn Sakūn, Ibn Idrīs is also among the immediate narrators of the *Ṣaḥīfah.*

Similarly, Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī is quoting his father about another chain of *Ṣaḥīfah* as follows: '

> It is narrated from Shaykh Ali, Shaykh Ahmad Ibn Dāwud, and then one after another it reaches two great Sayyids: Ali Ibn Ṭāwūs and Ahmad Ibn Ṭāwūs, and apart from these two great scholars it is narrated from Abdullah Ibn Zuhrah Ḥalabī, Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Namā, Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Fakhkhār, and Muhammad Ibn Idrīs with his chains up to some others; and then from 'Amīd al-Ru'asā Hibatullah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ayyūb and Ali Sakūn, from the Greatest Sayyid to the end of the chain.[134]

Where he address the *Ijāzāt* (permissions for narrating hadith), Majlisī narrates from his father, from Shahīd al-Thānī, from Mazīdī, and he continues mentioning the chain until he reaches Muhammad Ibn Idrīs Ḥillī, from 'Amīd al-Ru'asā, from the Greatest Sayyid, from Ibn Idrīs, from Abu Ali, from Abu Ali's father, Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ṭūsī, from Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Ibn Namā, from Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Ja'far, and finally from the Greatest Sayyid.[135]

Majlisī also narrates from his father, from 'Allāmah, with the series of chains from Shaykh Sadīd al-Dīn Shādhān Ibn Jibra'īl, Ibn Idrīs, Ibn Shahr Āshūb, and Arabi Ibn Musāfir, who all narrate from the Greatest Sayyid.

Majlisī mentions other chain from his father in the volume of *Ijāzāt* of *Biḥār al-Anwār.*

A Few Other Narrators of *Ṣaḥīfah*, besides Ibn Sakūn and 'Amīd al-Ru'asā

After Majlisī mentions narrators other than 'Amīd al-Ru'asā and Ibn Sakūn and Ibn Idrīs, who narrates from Shaykh Ṭūsī, he explains the hadith of Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Mashhadi from the Greatest Sayyid. And by means of his father's hand-written manuscript, he mentions some narrators of the *Ṣaḥīfah* as follows:

> My father [the first Majlisī] has said:
>
> > I am narrating the *Ṣaḥīfah* from 'Allāmah Shahīd Muhammad Ibn Makkī, from Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Abi al-Ma'ālī, from Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn Ali Ibn Ḥammād Wāsiṭī, and from

> Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'īd, Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Ja'far Ibn Namā, from his father, Shaykh Najib al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Namā, and Sayyid Fakhkhār, from Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Mashhadi, from Shaykh al-Ajal [Shaykh Ṭūsī].

> All this chain is according to what Sharif al-Ajal Niẓām al-Sharaf has addressed, and I was carefully listening to learn from him.

Majlisī continues: "And Muhammad Ibn Ja'far says: 'I also read the *Ṣaḥīfah* to my father, Ja'far Ibn Ali Mashhadi, to the great scholar Hibatullah Ibn Namā, Shaykh Muqrī, Ja'far Ibn Abulfaḍl Ibn Shaqrat, Sharīf Abu al-Fath Ibn Ja'fariyyah, Sharīf Abu al-Qāsim Zakī 'Alawī, and Shaykh Sālim Ibn Qubārawayh, who were all narrating it from Sayyid Bahā' al-Sharaf."

Moreover, with the same chains, Majlisī has narrated from Muḥaqqiq, from Ibn Namā, from Shaykh Abu al-Hasan Ali Ibn Khayyāṭ, from Shaykh 'Arabi Ibn Musāfir,[136] from Sayyid Bahā' al-Dīn. He also narrates from Sayyid Fakhkhār, from Shaykh Ali Ibn Yaḥyā Khayyāṭ, from Ḥamzah Ibn Shahryār, from the Greatest Sayyid.[137]

In a manuscript from the first Majlisī (Muhammad Taqī), in the narration of the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Mashhadi, from Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah, from the Greatest Sayyid, there are many other narrators in the chain, such as Ja'far Ibn Ali Mashhadi, Hibatullah Ibn Namā, Ja'far Ibn Abilfaḍl Ibn Shaqrah, Abu al-Fatḥ Ibn Ja'fariyyah, Abu al-Qāsim Ibn Zakī 'Alawī, Sālim Ibn Qubārawayh, 'Arabi Ibn Musāfir, and Ḥamzat Ibn Shahryār.

Having mentioned other chains, we understand that apart from these two scholars, i.e., Ja'far Ibn Ali Mashhadi and Muhammad Ibn Ja'far, there are seven other scholars who have narrated their hadiths from the Greatest Sayyid, and by adding Ibn 'Idrīs, 'Amīd al-Ru'asā, and Ibn Sakūn to them, they become twelve of the most learned Shi'a scholars who have narrated the *Ṣaḥīfah* from the Greatest Sayyid.

It must be known that before the first Majlisī, who relates his narrators of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* as we discussed, according to a discovered manuscript, Shahīd Awwal Muhammad Ibn Makkī has also narrated his copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah*—with his own narrators—from Shaykh Najm ad-Dīn. He had obtained it from his father, from eight scholars whose names we have already mentioned.

Here, the Shahīd's manuscript is among those three permissions for narrations of the *Ṣaḥīfah* that have been discovered by the author of *al-Ma'ālim*. Hasan Ibn Shahīd al-Thānī, the author of *al-Ma'ālim*, has also given his own permission to Sayyid Najm ad-Dīn Ibn Sayyid

Muhammad Husayni. These permissions have been addressed in all famous books of *Ijāzāt* (permissions).

Majlisī has narrated all these permissions in his *Biḥār al-Anwār*.

Having mentioned the permissions of the author of *al-Ma'ālim*, Majlisī says:

> And we have got a copy of *Ijāzah* (permission) that is written by our Shaykh al-Shahīd [Awwal]; the Sayyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn[138] has given it to him.[139] There are also two more *Ijāzāt* (permissions) that Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'īd and Shaykh Najm ad-Dīn Ja'far Ibn Namā have given to him. As there is both unnecessary and useful information in these two hadiths, we will address only the useful points of them.[140]

Majlisī, in another chapter in *Biḥār*, says: "Shahīd al-Awwal has narrated from Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Abi al-Ma'ālī al-Mūsawī, from Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn. There is a manuscript with us from Shahīd al-Awwal, may Allah be pleased with him, in which the *Ijāzat* (permission) of Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn to Sayyid Shams al-Dīn has been mentioned."[141]

Then Majlisī says:

> According to the information that is narrated from Shaykh Ṭūsī, my father told me:
>
> > Shahīd has narrated *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*, from Sayyid Sa'īd Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Mu'ayyah, from his father, Abi Ja'far Qāsim, from his cousin, Tāj al-Dīn Abi Abdullah Ja'far Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mu'ayyah, from his father, Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ibn Mu'ayyah, from Shaykh Abi Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Shahr Āshūb Mazandarani, from Sayyid Abi Ṣamṣām Dhi al-Faghār Ibn Mu'bid Hasani, from Shaykh Abi Ja'far Ṭūsī with other people in the chain that is mentioned at the beginning of this narration.

Majlisī is also narrating from Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Mu'ayyah, from Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Raḍī Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Āwī Husayni,[142] from Imam Wazīr Naṣīr al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ṭūsī, from his father, Sayyid Abi Riḍā Faḍlullah Hasani, from Sayyid Abi Ṣamṣām, and finally from Shaykh Abi Ja'far Ṭūsī.[143]

Majlisī continues:

> According to Shahīd's *Ijāzāt*, Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Ja'far Ibn Namā has said that he has narrated *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* with his father's permission: 1) from Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Mashhadi, who had heard the

recitation of Nidām al-Sharaf Abi al-Hasan Ibn al-'Oraydī al-'Alawī al-Husayni written in Shawwāl 556, and he also narrates according to his father's recitation; 2) from Ja'far Ibn Ali Mashhadi; 3) from Shaykh Hibatullah Ibn Namā and Shaykh Muqrī; 4) from Ja'far Ibn Abi al-Faḍl Ibn Sha'rah;[144] 5) from Sharīf Abi al-Qāsim Ibn Zakī 'Alawī; 6) from Sharīf Abi al-Fatḥ Ibn Ja'fariyyah; 7) from Shaykh Sālim Ibn Qubārawayh; all have narrated by means of Sayyid Bahā' al-Sharaf's chain. Moreover, Najm al-Dīn narrates it from his father, and from Shaykh Abi al-Hasan Ali Ibn Khayyāṭ; and 8) from Shaykh 'Arabi Ibn Musāfir, from Sayyid Bahā' al-Sharaf by means of his valid chains.[145,146]

When I was in Najaf al-Ashraf for my studies, I always (mostly on Thursdays and Fridays) used to go to visit the Holiness 'Allāmah Ḥājj Shaykh Āqā Bozorg Ṭehrani, may Allah bless him. He was my teacher in the subjects of *dirāyah, rijāl,* and hadiths, and besides, we were fellow-citizens and he was a close friend of my father and cousin. He was very kind to me, and whenever I needed a new book to study, he gave it to me from his library. I used to take the books home with me and pick out any necessary notes I wanted. And let it be known that most of the books he lent me were rare manuscripts written in ink, like the book *Ḍiyā al-Mafāzat fi Ṭuruq al-Mashāyikh wa al-Ijāzāt,* and others similar to that one such as Āyatollāh Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr's *Ijāzah.*

One day when I was in his presence and our discussion led us to the chains of narrations of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah Sajjādiyyah,* he stated:

The one who has uttered the phrase

حدّثنا

was certainly one of these seven people whom Majlisī has mentioned in *Bihār al-Anwār,* in the section of the *Ijāzāt* which the author of *al-Ma'ālim* has narrated from Shahīd. Any of those seven narrators are reliable.

Then Shaykh Āqā Bozorg stated: "I have mentioned the names of these seven people on a separate page of the final pages of my *Ṣaḥīfah.* If you want to record the names, take the manuscript home and copy from it!"

Therefore , I took the *Ṣaḥīfah* home and wrote them on a paper and then added it to my inherited hand-written copy. So, as I found it to be a great gift from 'Allamah Āqā Bozorg, I am going to mention it here as a memorial to him and the blissful city Najaf.

Ḥājj Shaykh Āqā Bozorg Tehrānī's Words about the Person who Had Stated حدثنا

بسمه تعالى شأنه العزيز

رأيت بخطّ العلّامة النّحرير فريد عصرنا الشّيخ آقا بزرگ الطّهرانى مدّ ظلّه

فى ظهر الصَّحيفةِ السّجادية ما هذا لفظه:

بسم الله الرّحمن الرّحيم، الحمد لوليّه، والصّلوة على نبيّه ووصيّه؛ وبعد فاعلم أنّه رَوى الصَّحِيفَةَ عَن بَهاء الشَّرف المصَدَّر بها اسمُهُ الشَّريف جماعةٌ منهم مَن ذكرهم الشَّيخ نجم الدِّين جعفر بن نجيب الدِّين محمد بن جعفر بن هِبَة الله بن نما الحِلِّيُ فى إجازته المسطورة فى إجازة صاحب المعالم ـ وتاريخ بعض إجازاته سنة 637 ـ فى إجازات البحار ص 108: جعفر بن على المشهدى أبو البقاء هِبة الله بن نما الشّيخ المُقرى جعفر بن أبى الفَضل بن شَعْرة الشَّريف أبو القاسم بن الزّكىّ العلوىّ الشّريف أبو الفتح ابن الجعفريّة الشّيخ سالم بن قباروية الشّيخ عربى بن مسافر وكلّهم أجلّاءُ مشاهيرُ وأبو الفتح المعروف بابن الجعفريّة هو السّيد الشّريف ضياء الدّين ابو الفتح محمد بن محمد العلوى الحسينىّ الحائرى وقد قرء عليه السّيد عزّ الدّين أبو الحرث محمد بن الحسن بن على العلوىّ الحسينى البغدادىّ كتاب «معدن الجواهر للكراجكى فى الحلّة السّيفيّةِ» فى ج 1 سنة 573 وذكرت هذا التاريخ ليعلم عصرُ غيره ممّن شاركه فى رواية الصَّحيفة عن بَهاء الشَّرف تقريباً واجازة صاحب المعالم مُدرَجةٌ فى المجلّد الاخير من البحار وأدرج هو فى إجازته إجازات ثلاث وجدها بخطّ الشَّهيد الاوّل إحدى بها إجازة نجم الدّين جعفر بن نما كما ذكره فى أوائل صفحة المِائة من هذا المجلّد ثمّ أدرجها متفرّقةً فى إجازته منها الفقرة الّتى نقلناها فقد ذكرها فى وسط ص 108 من مجلّد الإجازات.

حرّره مالك النّسخة إرثاً الجانى محمد محسن المدعو بآقا بزرگ الطّهرانى فى 5 رجب سنة 1345 ـ انتهى.

حرّره مالك هذه الصَّحيفة إرثاً محمد حسين الحسينى الطهرانى فى 19 رجب سنة 1375

In the Name of Allah, the Loftiest is His Position!

This is written by 'Allāmah, the proficient of our era, al-Shaykh Āqā Bozorg Tehrani at the back of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*.

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful; and praise be to His Guardian, and peace and blessing be upon His Prophet as well as his Successor.

And after praising our Lord, you should know that this *Ṣaḥīfah* is narrated by Bahā al-Sharaf, whose name is mentioned here by a group of scholars whose names are listed by al-Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Ja'far Ibn Najīb al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Hibatullah Ibn Namā al-Ḥillī in the permission (*Ijāzat*) of the author of *al-Ma'ālim* in the year 637. They have also been mentioned in the book of *Ijāzāt* in *al-Bihār al-Anwār*, page 108. The chain of this *Ṣaḥīfah* is as follows:

Ja'far Ibn Ali al-Mashhadi Abu al-Baqā Hibatullah Ibn Namā, al-Shaykh al-Mughrī Ja'far Ibn Abi al-Faḍl Ibn Sha'rat al-Sharīf Abu al-Qāsim Ibn al-Zakī al-'Alawī al-Sharif, Abu al-Fatḥ Ibn al-Ja'fariyyah, al-Shaykh Sālim Ibn Qubārawayh, and al-Shaykh Arabi Ibn Musāfir. All these people are great and famous scholars among the people; and Abu al-Fatḥ is known as Ibn al-Ja'fariyyah, who is a noble Sayyid, Ḏiyā al-Dīn Abu al-Fatḥ, Muhammad Ibn Muhammad al-'Alawī al-Husayni al-Ḥā'irī. And al-Sayyid 'Izz al-Dīn Abu al-Ḥarth Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali al-'Alawī al-Husayni al-Baghdadi read the book of *Ma'dan al-Jawāhir lil-Karājakī fi al-Ḥillat al-Sayfiyyah* in volume 1, and in 573, and he mentioned this date to be known and be distinguished from that of Bahā al-Sharaf's edition of *Saḥīfah*, as well as the permission (*Ijāzat*) of the author *al-Ma'ālim* in the latest edition of *al-Bihār al-Anwār*. In that *Ijāzat*, there are three permissions written by al-Shahīd al-Awwal. One of those three permissions belongs to Najm al-Dīn Ja'far Ibn Namā, as he had mentioned at the beginning of page 100 of that volume of *al-Bihār*. It is also written in the middle of page 108 of his own book of *al-Ijāzāt*. The owner of this *Ṣaḥīfah* was from among his heritage, Muhammad Muḥsin, called Āqā Bozorg Tehrani, on the fifth of Rajab, 1345.

And I, Muhammad Husayn al-Husayni al-Ṭiḥrānī, have written Āqā Bozorg's *Ṣaḥīfah* on the nineteenth of Rajab, 1375.

It should be known that the late Āqā Bozorg, may Allah add to his lofty position, did not mention the name of Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Mashhadi on this page, who had heard it from the Greatest Sayyid; he only mentioned his father, Ja'far Ibn Ali Mashhadi. That is, Muhammad Ibn Ja'far is one of the main narrators of the *Ṣaḥīfah* as well, so along with him, the number of narrators becomes eight. One advantage is that, in the same collection, page 164, we saw a hadith from the author of *al-Ma'ālim* saying: "Shahīd, may Allah be pleased with him, from Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Mu'ayyah, has narrated the *Ṣaḥīfah* through two chains from Shaykh al-Ṭūsī.

As, with no doubt, it is impossible for the Shaykh to narrate from the Greatest Sayyid, because the Greatest Sayyid lived in the second half of the sixth century, while the Shaykh died in the second half of the fifth century (385–460 AH), so it is impossible for the Shaykh to narrate Sayyid Bahā al-Sharaf, unless by "Sayyid" he means another

narrator before him, because apart from Bahā al-Sharaf, we have two other chains we received from Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Mu'ayyah; therefore, all the previous narrators, along with the Greatest Sayyid, are thirteen.

By the way, the chain of *Ṣaḥīfah* is not only specified for the Greatest Sayyid Bahā al-Sharaf, because, besides the Greatest Sayyid Bahā al-Sharaf, some others have narrated the *Ṣaḥīfah* by means of numerous other chains.

'Allāmah Muhammad Taqī Majlisī (the first) had already written a clear explanation about the hadith of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*, and his son, Bāqir Majlisī (Thānī), addressed it in *al-Bihār*.

> In section 41, Majlisī says: "I have seen another hand-written hadith by my father [Muhammad Taqī Majlisī] in which he narrates it from some other shaykhs. In those hand-written copies, my father, by means of his series of chains, explains many hadiths and then relates them to Shahīd Thānī, 'Allāmah Ḥillī, Ibn Ṭāwūs, and some others. With his own series of chains, he narrates nineteen hadiths of the *Ṣaḥīfah* and then relates them to al-Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah, Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ṭūsī. Shaykh Ṭūsī also narrates them all by means of the authentic chains from Husayn Ibn Ubaydullah Ghaḍā'irī, from Abu al-Mufaḍḍal Shaybānī, from Sharīf Hasani.
>
> 'Arabi Ibn Musāfir's chain is not exclusive to the Greatest Sayyid; rather, through the Sayyid, he relates his chain to Shaykh Ṭūsī, where he says:
>
> وَعَنْهُ
>
> (which means the chain reached Sayyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs from Ali Ibn Yaḥyā Khayyāṭ, from Arabī Ibn Musāfir, from Sayyid Bahā' al-Sharaf, from Muhammad Ibn Abi al-Qāsim, from Abu Ali, from his father (Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah) and too many other narrators to mention in the chain.[147]

Shakh Ṭūsī's Style in Narrating the *Ṣaḥīfah*

'Allāmah Ṣadr al-Dīn Sayyid Ali-khān Kabīr Madanī Shirazi, in his outstanding introduction to *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah Sajjādiyyah*, after explaining his series of chains, mentions the names of people in the chain, with their titles, up to Shaykh Ṭūsī, and then says:

> Shaykh Ṭūsī has two chains in narrating the *Ṣaḥīfah*, which have been addressed in *al-Fihrist*; one of them is from a group from Abu Muhammad Hārūn Ibn Mūsā Ibn Tal'ukbarī, from Ma'rūf Ibn Akhī Ṭāhir, who narrates from Abu Muhammad Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn

Hasan Ibn Ja'far Ibn Ubaydullah Ibn Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

And the second of those two is from Abu Abdullah Ahmad Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Bazzāz, known as Ibn 'Abdūn, from Abu Bakr Durī, from Ibn Akhī Ṭāhir, from Muhammad Ibn Muṭahhar, from his father, 'Umayr Ibn Mutawakkil, from his father, from Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd, from his father, Zayd Ibn Ali, and he also from his father, Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

And for Shaykh Ṭūsī, there is a third chain of narration that has been mentioned in the margins of some copies of the *Ṣaḥīfah* as follows:

> Narrated to us from the greatest Shaykh Sayyid Imam Sa'īd Abu Ali Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ṭūsī, may Allah support him, in Jamādi al-Ākhar in the year 511, who informed us that the greatest Shaykh Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ṭūsī said that Husayn Ibn Ubaydullah Ghazā'irī had told him that Abu al-Faḍl (Abu al-Mufaḍḍal) Muhammad Ibn Ubaydullah Ibn Muṭṭalib Shaybānī, in one of the months of the year 385, said that Sharīf Abu Abdullah Ja'far Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Hasan narrated to us all the people of the chain that has been mentioned in the book.[148]

Muḥaddith Jazā'irī says:

> However, the edition in the margin in which is written "narrated to us by the greatest Shaykh" is the same copy that Fāḍil Sadīdī from Ibn Idrīs's copy narrates to show the difference between its chain, i.e., between that copy and the copy of Ibn Sakūn. And we have discovered it in many editions of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, and the narrator of
>
> حدّثنا
>
> in it is Ibn Sakūn.[149]

The fifth point is that after we examine the validity of the chain of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, we understand that it is frequently and widely narrated (*mutawātir*), so there is no doubt that it is an authentic source of Islamic knowledge. Even if the *Ṣaḥīfah* did not have these strong chains, or had a few weak narrators in some of its chains, it would still be a valid source of knowledge, because the narrations are *mutawātir*, and a few weak chains would not damage its authenticity and the fact that it is related to Imam Ali Ibn Husayn.

Some Scholars Discuss the Chains of the *Ṣaḥīfah* Just to Seek Blessing

Sayyid Ali-khān Kabīr says:

> Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Bahā al-Sharaf, whose name is mentioned in the chain of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, is not mentioned in the books of *rijāl* [the science dealing with transmitters of hadith]; however, as it has been frequently narrated, missing a few people in some chains does not ruin its rightfulness. And mentioning the great Shaykhs as narrators in the chains is just a kind of appreciation of them and their contribution in narrating this noble work.[150]

Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir Mīr Dāmād says: "*Ṣaḥīfah al-Karīmah al-Sajjādiyyah*, which is called the Bible of the Household and the Psalm of the lineage of the Prophet, is frequently narrated. And the chains are mentioned to show the way of transmission of the hadith. This is the rule of the scholars in addressing the permission for narrating (*ijāzāh*)."[151]

Sayyid Ni'matullah Jazā'irī says:

> In the book of *rijāls*, the condition of Abu al-Hasan Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan is unknown, like the condition of Khāzin, Khaṭṭāb, and Balkhī, and this does not harm the validity of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, because the chains of this work are *mutawātir* and have been narrated by both the Sunni and Shi'a schools. Moreover, Ghazzālī and some others have taken it as the Bible of the Household and the Psalm of Muhammad and his lineage.
>
> However, the reason that our companions—who are scholars of permission—have narrated it with the name of its narrators is purely due to their devotion to the infallible Imams. In addition to an authentic chain, this work has a unique Arabic literature and sublime contents, which is the best proof that it is from his Holiness the infallible Imam.[152]

Āyatollāh Āqā Mizā Ali Mudarrisī Chahārdehī says:

> Let it be known that there are a few men in the series of chains that are mentioned for this book whose conditions are not clear, such as Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan, Khāzin, Khaṭṭāb, and Balkhī. However, it cannot affect the value of the book after we are certain that it is from the Imam. Even Ghazzālī and some others have said: "This book is said to be the Bible of the Household and the Psalm of Muhammad." However, the reason that the Companions mention the chain of the book with the name and condition of narrators is to seek blessing, as it is related to the immaculate Imam.[153]

> Mullā Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī, in *Bihār al-Anwār*, narrates from his father, Mullā Muhammad Taqī's, handwriting about the *Ṣaḥīfah* and narrates much information until he reaches a statement of his father in which he says the *Ṣaḥīfah* has been narrated by numerous chains from Hārūn Ibn Mūsā Tal'ukbarī, from Ahmad Ibn Abbās Sayrāfī, known as Ibn Ṭayālisī, with the title of Abu Ya'qūb in the year 335 by means of his chains from Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd. And what I have seen besides these chains from the *Ṣaḥīfah* are outnumbered, so there is no doubt that it is from Sayyid al-Sājidīn.[154]

Sayyid Muhammad Meshkāt, in the introduction of his *Ṣaḥīfah*, says: "Perhaps excessive attention of people to supplications has made this book popular among Shi'a and made it become one of the most famous books after the glorious Qur'an. After thirteen centuries, this book is still being used by great scholars and researchers in the Muslim world."

The great Shi'a jurist and thinker Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Nu'mān, known as Mufīd (338–413 AH), in his *al-Irshād*, has addressed the whole story in the final part of the biography of the Imam, Ali Ibn al-Husayn. And his contemporary, the famous trustworthy scholar Ali Ibn Muhammad Khazzāz Qumi, one of Ṣadūq's students, Ibn Bābwayh (d. 381), as well as Ahmad Ibn 'Ayyāsh (d. 401) and Abu al-Mufaḍḍal Shaybānī at the end of his book called *Kifāyat al-Athar* have narrated it from the Holiness Ali Ibn al-Husayn as follows: "'Āmir Ibn Īsā Ibn 'Āmir Sayrāfī related to us in Dhi al-Ḥajja in the year 381: 'It was narrated to me from Abu Muhammad Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yaḥyā (Ibn) Hasan Ibn Ja'far Ibn Ubaydullah Ibn Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.'"

And he goes on to say: "Muhammad Ibn Muṭahhar narrated the whole story to us and then said: 'My father related it to me saying: "Omayr Ibn Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn narrated it to me from his father, Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn."'"

He also says: "I met Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd after the martyrdom of his father on the way to Khorasan. To be honest, I had never seen a man as knowledgeable and wise as he...then he showed me a *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* that included the supplications of Ali Ibn al-Husayn."

Apart from these sources, the *Ṣaḥīfah* is mentioned in the oldest book of the famous events and the greatest scholars of Shi'ism, such as *al-Fihrist* of Shaykh Ṭūsī (385–460) and *al-Rijāl* of Najāshī (372–450), a bibliographical book of Mutawakkil Ibn Omayr, and also in *al-Rijāl* by Shaykh Ṭūsī under the title of Ali Ibn Mālik.

There so many chains that 'Allamah Muhammad Taqī Majlisī has pointed out in one of his hadiths that he alone has thousands of chains for that hadith.

The Fame of the *Ṣaḥīfah* among the Scholars of Early Times

Meshkāt says: "Before the middle of the sixth Hegira century ended, the *Ṣaḥīfah* became a widespread supplication book among the people, and like the dawn breeze, it spread everywhere. It became so famous that people considered it to be the Psalm of the Household of Muhammad and the Bible. It was then the scholars began translating and promoting this great work everywhere."

Then Meshkāt continues, saying: "The *Ṣaḥīfah* is also quite popular among the school of Zaydiyyah. I have seen some of the great men among the Zaydiyyah studying and considering the *Ṣaḥīfah* a noble book. They were humbly respectful and promoted it among their people and gave a great deal of attention to its commentary, particularly to Sayyid Ali-khān Kabīr's commentary."

Meshkāt says:

> The supplications of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, apart from their fluency and clear language, include divine knowledge together with the divinely given wisdom of man. This is quite clear for the pious who have opened their hearts to spirituality. It is because the sentences of the *Ṣaḥīfah* indicate that this book is beyond creatures' speech; and in this case, this sacred work is not easy to manipulate by forgers! One of the mystics says: "The *Ṣaḥīfah* is the divine living revelation and is the firmament tablet sent down to earth."

Here, Meshkāt narrates for us the story of a man from Baṣrah who claimed that he could write supplications similar to those in the *Ṣaḥīfah*. Then he made ready a pen and paper to write, but he suddenly died while his head was hanging with shame. We explained this story in this volume from *Riyāḍ al-Sālikīn* and *Manāqib* of Ibn Shahr Āshub.

Having related the above-mentioned story, Meshkāt says: "Scholars and many writers in different fields of Islamic knowledge have referred to this noble source and have benefitted from the spiritual content of its supplications."

Meshkāt continues on until he addresses others supplication books such as the book of Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah (Ṣadūq), Quṭb Rāwandī, Sayyid Ali Ibn Husayn Ibn Bāqī, Sayyid Ali Ibn Ṭāwūs, Raḍī al-Dīn

Abu al-Qāsim Ali Ibn Ṭāwūs, Shahīd Muhammad Ibn Makkī, and Ibrahim Kaf'amī.

And then Meshkāt says:

> Having mentioned all this information in this introduction, it becomes clear that the noble *Ṣaḥīfah* is the pioneer among the Islamic books, and it is right next to the Qur'an. A man of wisdom can believe that it is written by the fourth Imam, and the enemy also thinks as the Muslims do.
>
> The beautiful spirit of the writer is reflected in his works, and it is known to all that the writer of the book is a noble Imam; all people benefit from it on different levels of needs. You should have known that all the writers of the supplication books refer to him, and everyone makes use of it according to his capacity. His book is the richest and most original, and none of its supplications are taken from any other books.
>
> It is because no one can anticipate what he writes; in fact no one can achieve his knowledge. The whole book of the *Ṣaḥīfah* is full of facts that Allah, glory to Him in the highest, has bestowed on the Holy Imam.[155]

The eighth advantage that Meshkāt has addressed in his introduction, by which he has ended his points, is that the main content of this *Ṣaḥīfah* is similar to the famous one, but there are a few differences.

That which is important and is worth mentioning is the story at the end of the hadith of the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*. The story is as follows:

> He sent the children of Abdullah Ibn Hasan away from the presence of Imam Ṣādiq while saying:
>
> لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ
>
> ("There is no power or strength save in Allah, the All-high, the Almighty.")
>
> A debate took place between Imam Ṣādiq and Mutawakkil about who the narrator of the hadith is. The Imam narrates a statement that became a pretext for those who opposed the Islamic Republic of Iran.
>
> That statement is:
>
> مَا خَرَجَ وَلَا يَخْرُجُ مِنَّا أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ إِلَى قِيَامِ قَائِمِنَا أَحَدٌ لِيَدْفَعَ ظُلْماً أَوْ يَنْعَشَ حَقّاً إِلَّا اصْطَلَمَتْهُ الْبَلِيَّةُ وَ كَانَ قِيَامُهُ زِيَادَةً فِي مَكْرُوهِنَا وَ شِيعَتِنَا.

("...not one of us, the Household, has revolted or will revolt to repel an injustice or to raise up a right without affliction uprooting him and without his uprising increasing the adversity of us and our followers.")

And it is interesting to see that there is a chain from Abu al-Mufaḍḍal at the end of the hadith of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*, which includes most sections of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. In this chain, like the previous ones, the narrator of

حدّثنا

is not introduced, and the brevity of the previous chain is seen in this one as well. The only difference is that, like the old copy, the end of the Prophet's dream has not been mentioned.

Only Allah is Aware of the facts!

The servant who is in search of Allah's Mercy,

Al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Fahrī[156]

A Response to the Eight Advantages

As the above discussion was on the introduction of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, we start our discussion with a translation of the introduction:

> The great Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Bahā al-Sharaf Abu al-Hasan related to us,[157] from Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn Yaḥyā 'Alawī Husayni,[158] from Shaykh Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Shahryār, who was the trustworthy narrator of Imam Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal, in the year 516, while they were reading it to him and I was hearing what they read.
>
> He said:[159]
>
>> I heard from Abu al-Mufaḍḍal Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn Muṭṭalib Shaybānī that the *Ṣaḥīfah* was being read to the great and rightful Shaykh, Abu Manṣūr Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Abd al-Azīz 'Ukbarī, whose rightfulness was known to everyone.[160]
>>
>> He said: "Sharīf related it to us, Abu Abdullah Ja'far Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the Master of the Faithful."
>>
>> He added: "Abdullah Ibn Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb Zayyāt (an oil merchant) related it to us in the year 265."

He added: "My cousin related that Ali Ibn Nu'mān A'alam said: 'Omayr Ibn Mutawakkil Thaqafī Balkhī related it to me from his father, Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn.'"

He said:

> I met Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd Ibn Ali when setting out for Khorasan; it was after his father's death, and I greeted him. Yaḥyā asked me: "Where are you coming from?" I answered: "I am returning from the *ḥajj* pilgrimage." And he asked me about his relatives and close friends and particularly about Ja'far Ibn Muhammad in Medina. I told him how he was, as well as his relatives and friends. I then expressed their sorrow and condolences about the death of his father, Zayd Ibn Ali.[161]
>
> And Yaḥyā told me: "My uncle Muhammad Ibn Ali commanded my father not to rise up and informed him that if he left Medina and rose up what would happen to him." Then he hastily asked: "Did you see my uncle Ja'far Ibn Muhammad?"[162]
>
> I answered in the positive that I had seen him.
>
> He asked: "Tell me what his opinion was about me; what did he say about me in my absence?"
>
> I said: "May I be made a sacrifice to you, I don't like to reveal what I have heard from him!"
>
> Yaḥyā said: "What! Are you trying to frighten me to death? Do tell me what you have heard him saying about me!"
>
> I said: "I heard him saying, you too will be killed, you will be hanged, in the same way that your father was killed and hanged!"
>
> It was then he turned pale and said:
>
> يَمْحُوا اللَّهُ مَا يَشَاءُ وَيُثْبِتُ وَعِنْدَهُ أُمُّ الْكِتَابِ
>
>> Allah erases and confirms whomsoever He will, and He establishes [to remain] whomsoever He will; and with Him is the knowledge of the Archetypal Book (13: 39). O Mutawakkil! Indeed Allah, glory to Him in the highest, has confirmed this Guardianship to be ours. He provided us

knowledge and swords; He brought those two together for us. Our cousins were just given knowledge.

I said: "May I be made your sacrifice! I think that the majority of people are better disposed to your cousin than toward you and your father!"

Yaḥyā said: "This is because my uncle Muhammad Ibn Ali and his son Ja'far encourage people to this worldly life, but we invite them to death [Hereafter]!"

I said: "O son of the Messenger of Allah, are you wiser than they are or are they wiser than you?"

Yaḥyā, for a short while, hung his head and then raised it, saying: "All of us have knowledge; however, he knows whatever we know, but we know not all what he knows!"

Then Yaḥyā asked me: "Tell me, have you written down anything you have heard from him?"

I answered: "Yes, I have." Then he asked me to show him what I had written.

So I took out some different scientific subjects from my bag for him, and then I also took out of my bag the very supplication that Abu Abdullah had dictated to me. He informed me that his father had dictated it to him, and then told him that the supplication was from among the supplications of his father, Ali Ibn al-Husayn's *Ṣaḥīfah*.

Yaḥyā cast a short glance at that supplication and then read it from beginning to end, and asked me: "Would you mind if I made a copy from this supplication?"

I said: "O son of the Messenger! Do you ask for my permission about what belongs to you, and has come to me from you?!"

Yaḥyā said: "Now I will also show you a copy of the supplications of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* that my father has recorded; my father used to enjoin me to be careful in saving it."

Omayr says:

My father (Mutawakkil) said that he had stood up and kissed his face and then had told him: "O son of the Messenger of Allah! I have found it my priority to be faithful to you and obey

you! I am certain that this obedience of mine will make me happy in this world and the next."

Then he handed over my *Ṣaḥīfah* to his servant and asked him to write it down and make a new clear copy and then return it to me and said: "I hope I can memorize it. I demanded it from Ja'far, but he avoided giving it to me."

Mutawakkil said: "Soon after, I regretted what I had done, but I didn't know what to do! Because Abu Abdullah was not such a person to direct me not to give it to anyone."

Then Yaḥyā asked his servant for a chest, and when he brought it for him, he took out a sealed *Ṣaḥīfah* from the chest, gave it a few kisses, and began crying. Then he broke the seal, unlocked it, and again, after giving it some more kisses, he opened it and said:

> O Mutawakkil, by Allah, if you did not tell me that my cousin had told you I will be hanged and murdered, I would absolutely not give this *Ṣaḥīfah* to you! Without showing it to anyone I would save it by all means. However, I know that he is right and he had told you whatever he had heard from his father and grandfather. Therefore, I thought, after my death, Banī Umayyad will take this precious work and will hide it in their treasure house and later will announce to that public that it was written by them!

The Holiness Imam Ṣādiq's presenting the *Ṣaḥīfah* to Muhammad and Ibrahim

Yaḥyā said to Mutawakkil:

> You take this *Ṣaḥīfah* and relieve my anxiety, and wait until Allah commands between my affair and the affair of that folk; in other words, this *Ṣaḥīfah* is going to be an entrustment from me to you until you are to deliver it to my two uncles, Muhammad and Ibrahim, the two sons of Abdullah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali, because after me, those two are going to be my successors for the affairs of the Imamate.

Mutawakkil says:

> I received the *Ṣaḥīfah* from him, and then after Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd was killed, I set out for Medina, and there I met Abu Abdullah and told him the whole story of Yaḥyā.

Upon learning of the demise of Yaḥyā, the Holiness Imam cried, and his sorrow at his death was too much. While still weeping, he said: "May Allah bestow His mercy upon my uncle and join him to his father, grandfather, and ancestors! O Mutawakkil! By Allah, my sorrow and excessive prayers for him are because he was always worried about that *Ṣaḥīfah*; where is it now?"

I said: "Here you are, this is the *Ṣaḥīfah*." The Imam opened it, saying: "By Allah, this is the manuscript of my uncle Zayd, and the supplications of my grandfather Ali Ibn al-Husayn."

Then soon after, he commanded his son: "O Ismā'īl, now bring for me that supplication that I trusted you to look after and keep safe!"

Ismā'īl brought the *Ṣaḥīfah*, and I noticed that it was exactly the same as Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd's copy that he had given to me. The Holiness Imam took it and gave kisses to it and then laid it on his eyes, saying: "This is my father's hand-written copy that my grandfather dictated to him in my presence."

I said: "O son of the Messenger of Allah! Would you allow me to compare this *Ṣaḥīfah* with Zayd and Yaḥyā's *Ṣaḥīfah?*"

The Holiness let me do what I wanted to, and he told me: "I found you the most rightful person for this important task!"

Once again I checked both copies and saw that they were alike and with the same subjects; I did not find even one word to be different in both. So I asked Abu Abdullah to let me take that *Ṣaḥīfah* to the two sons of Abdullah Ibn al-Hasan.

The Holiness stated:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُكُمْ أَنْ تُؤَدُّوا الْأَمَانَاتِ إِلَىٰ أَهْلِهَا

"*...indeed Allah commands you to deliver the trusts back to their owners* (4: 58). That is it! Give the *Ṣaḥīfah* to those two persons!" Then when I rose to go to those two persons, he told me: "You stop!" I stood where I was, and the Holiness sent one of his servants to Muhammad and Ibrahim to invite them to come to the Holiness.

It did not take long for them to come to us, and the Holiness told those two: "This is the heritage of your uncle that has come to Yaḥyā through his father. And he has assigned both of you to have it as an inheritance—he has refrained from giving it to your brothers. Now take it. But remember that I am giving it you with a condition!"

Both of them appreciated him and asked: "May Allah bless you! Do tell us what that condition is!"

The Holiness said: "Do not take this *Ṣaḥīfah* out of Medina."

They asked: "For what reason should we not take it out of Medina?"

The Holiness said: "Your uncle was concerned that something might happen to this *Ṣaḥīfah*; I have also the same concern."

They said: "Our uncle Yaḥyā was worried because he found out that he was going to be killed."

The Holiness Abu Abdullah said: "You too do not feel very safe! By Allah, I know that it will not be long before you will also rise up, as he did, and then you will be killed as he was killed!"

It was then that Muhammad and Ibrahim stood up while reciting:

لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ

"There is no power and no strength save in Allah, the All-High, the Almighty."

Then after leaving the room, the Imam asked me: "O Mutawakkil! How did Yaḥyā tell you: 'His uncle Muhammad Ibn Ali and his son, Ja'far, invited people to this life, but they call them to death?'"

I said: "Your uncle Yaḥyā told me exactly the same!"

The Imam said:

> May Allah have mercy on Yaḥyā! Indeed, my father narrated to me from his father, and his grandfather Ali, saying that once when the Prophet was on the pulpit in the mosque he connected to a higher realm, and in an inspiration, he dreamed that some apes were pushing back the people and trying to climb the pulpit!
>
> The Prophet came to his normal condition and sat erect but felt sorry about the event.
>
> It was then Gabriel came to the Prophet with this verse:
>
> وَمَا جَعَلْنَا الرُّؤْيَا الَّتِي أَرَيْنَاكَ إِلَّا فِتْنَةً لِلنَّاسِ وَالشَّجَرَةَ الْمَلْعُونَةَ فِي الْقُرْآنِ وَنُخَوِّفُهُمْ فَمَا يَزِيدُهُمْ إِلَّا طُغْيَانًا كَبِيرًا.

> *...and We did not assign the vision that We showed you but as a trial for the people—as well the tree cursed in the Qur'an; and We frighten them, but it only increases them in great insolence* (17: 60).
>
> By "cursed tree," the verse means the Banī Umayyad dynasty.
>
> The Prophet asked: "O Gabriel! Will this event happen in my time?"
>
> Gabriel answered: "No! However, the mill of Islam will turn round for ten years after your immigration and will do its duty! After that, again the mill will start running at the beginning of the year thirty-five from the immigration; it will run for five years and do its duty. Then there will be no remedy for the perdition mill's running on its fixed axis, and then it will be time for the sovereignty of the Pharaoh."

The Holiness Imam Ṣādiq stated:

> Concerning their sovereignty and rulership, Allah sent down this verse:
>
> إِنَّا أَنزَلْنَاهُ فِي لَيْلَةِ الْقَدْرِ، وَمَا أَدْرَاكَ مَا لَيْلَةُ الْقَدْرِ، لَيْلَةُ الْقَدْرِ خَيْرٌ مِنْ أَلْفِ شَهْرٍ.
>
> *...surely We sent it down on the Night of Decree, and how could you realize what the Night of Decree is? The Night of Decree is better than a thousand months* (97:1–3).
>
> It means that period when the Banī Umayyad are going to govern, and will not have that Night of Decree during their rule.

And the Imam stated:

> Allah, glory to Him in the highest, let His Messenger know that the Banī Umayyad would take the rulership upon that nation in their control during that time. So if the mountains are to show their priorities and height against them, they pretend they are higher than the mountains, until Allah, the Highest, wants to make their sovereignty deteriorate!
>
> And during that long period of time, the Banī Umayyad will prove their enmity against us, the Household, and will make their motto a grudge against us. Allah informed His Messenger of their oppression against the Household and their friends and followers during the government of the Banī Umayyad.
>
> Concerning them, Allah sent this verse down:
>
> أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ بَدَّلُوا نِعْمَتَ اللهِ كُفْراً وَأَحَلُّوا قَوْمَهُمْ دَارَ الْبَوَارِ. جَهَنَّمَ يَصْلَوْنَهَا وَبِئْسَ الْقَرَارُ.

> > *...have you not considered those who exchanged Allah's favor for unbelief, and caused their people to dwell in the abode of ruin, hell, wherein they are roasted; and how evil resting place [it is]* (14: 28–29)!
>
> > In this verse, the term "Allah's favor" means Muhammad and his Household. Loving them is faith that will take the lovers to Paradise, and hostility to them is disbelief that takes the people to hell.
>
> > The Prophet, peace be upon him and his Descendant, told this story and event to Ali and his Household in secret.
>
> Upon that condition the Imam Abu Abdullah stated: "There has not arisen nor will there arise anyone among us, the Household, until the Existing Support of Muhammad's Household's reappearance to remove oppression, or to put the right in its proper place, unless oppression goes too far and causes us, the Shi'a, to suffer!"

Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn said: "Then Abu Abdullah dictated those supplications to me, and they were seventy-five sections altogether. Later on, I lost eleven of them, and there remained with me about sixty-four."

Abu Manṣūr, Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Abd al-Azīz 'Ukbarī Mu'addal, says:

> Abu al-Mufaḍḍal related to us as follows:
>
> > Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ibn Ruzbeh Abu Bakr Madā'nī Kātib told us he had arrived at Ruḥbah (Kūfa or Baghdad) and settled there in his dwelling. Then, once in a circle, he narrated: "Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muslim Muṭahharī told me that my father related to me from his father, from his father, 'Omayr Ibn Mutawakkil Balkhī, who said Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn said: "I have met Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd Ibn Ali."
>
> > He continued telling me the hadith of his meeting with Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd Ibn Ali up to the end, and then he went on telling me about the dream of the Prophet that Ja'far Ibn Muhammad had narrated from his father to him.
>
> > In Muṭahhari's hadith, different sections of the *Ṣaḥīfah* are mentioned as follows:
>
> > > Abu al-Mufaḍḍal counts fifty-four of the supplications of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* along with their titles, and then he says: "The remaining sections are narrated by Abu Abdullah Hasani, may Allah bless him." Abu al-Mufaḍḍal also says:

> Abu Abdullah Ibn Muhammad Hasani related to us from Abdullah Ibn Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb Zayyāt, from his cousin Ali Ibn Nu'mān 'Alam, from 'Omayr Ibn Mutawakkil Balkhī, from his father, Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn, saying: "It was dictated to me by my Master, Sayyid Ṣādiq Abu Abdullah Ja'far Ibn Muhammad, saying my grandfather Ali Ibn al-Husayn dictated it to my father, Muhammad Ibn Ali, upon him be peace and blessing—so this supplication was narrated in my presence."[163]

Some Other Advantages of the Discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* Mentioned by Its Editor and Our Comments on Them.

Now that the main part of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* has been explained, it is time to analyze the views of the editor of the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* on the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*.

First, it is said that at the end of the narration of the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, there is another chain from Abu al-Mufaḍḍal that contains some chapters of *Ṣaḥīfah*. In this chain, like the previous one

حدّثنا

has not been mentioned, and the obscurity of the previous chain is seen in this chain as well.

The answer to this claim is that among the narrators of the hadith, this subject is quite common, so that among the series of the chains, if only in one place in one of the chains of a hadith, the narrator is changed, they ignore that chain and look for a new chain after the term

حدّثنا

or

أخبَرنا

in the old chain, just to show that the hadith is quoted by someone other than the first one, but they may return to the first chain where the narrator of the new chain is contained.

This is called

حَيلُولَة

(hindrance) in writing, and it is mostly shown simply by the letter

ح.

The term

حَيْلُولَة

was used in the past, and it does not belong to 'Ukbarī's time, apart from the fact that it is not necessary to always put

حَيْلُولَة

where it is needed, so in most hadiths, we see that writers ignored it.

In the hadith of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah,* in the narration of Hasani, we know that the narrator, Abu al-Mufaḍḍal Shaybānī, is the one who is called the most rightful Shaykh (Ṣadūq) Abu Manṣūr Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Abd al-Azīz 'Ukbarī Mu'addal.

The great Sayyid narrates the hadith in this way until he reaches a place where he continues with another chain, which is known as the chain of Muṭahharī (versus Hasani).

There, with the same chain, without mentioning

حَيْلُولَة

he mentions Muṭahharī's narration up to the end. So it is quite obvious that the speaker of

وَحَدَّثَنَا أَبُو الْمُفَضَّل

at the end of the *Ṣaḥīfah* in the hadith of Muṭahharī is the same narrator in the beginning of the *Ṣaḥīfah* in Hasani's hadith. He is Abu Manṣūr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Abd al-Azīz 'Ukbarī Mu'addal, who in both has narrated them from Abu al-Mufaḍḍal.

Second, it is said: this chain is also similar to the chain mentioned in the old version of the *Ṣaḥīfah;* that is, the first part of the Prophet's dream is mentioned, and the rest of the event is not mentioned.

The answer is that in *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah,* we have this clause:

فَذَكَرَ الْحَدِيثَ بِتَمَامِهِ إِلَى رُؤْيَا النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم

"So he mentioned the whole hadith up to the dreaming of the Prophet, peace be upon him and his descendants." In his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah,* the most learned scholar in Arabic literature, Sayyid Alikhān Kabīr Madanī—may God be pleased with him—concerning the Prophet's dream on the pulpit, has said:

> It is better to join the concept that comes after the term
>
> إِلَى
>
> to the concept before
>
> إِلَى
>
> In this case, the dreaming will be within the mentioned hadith as

فَذَكَرَ الحَدِيثَ بِتَمَامِه

meaning: "So he mentioned the whole hadith."

The logic of Sayyid Ali-khān's point is that the scholars of Arabic literature say: we can join the last part of a sentence to the first part only when the context allows us to do so, as with

قَرَأتُ القُرآنَ مِن أوّلِهِ إلى آخِرِه

"I recited the Qur'an from the beginning to end," and also we can join the ending part to the first part only when we have contextual proof, as with

ثُمَّ أَتِمُّوا الصِّيَامَ إِلَى اللَّيْلِ

...then, go on fasting again until the nightfall (2:187); otherwise, normally the last part cannot be joined to the first one as long as there is no justification for that in the context. In other words, the lack of external proof prevents two parts from being joined.

Some have said: "If the following sentence in terms of its nature is like the preceding sentence, they can be joined even without a context." And some have said the next part must absolutely be added to the first one, but as we have already mentioned, the first view is correct.[164]

The late Sayyid Ali-khān puts a proof in this blessed hadith

ذَكَرَ الحَدِيثَ بِتَمَامِه

(mentioning the whole hadith) that the dream is included, as if you say: "I listened to the wise saying of someone up to his last preaching," or "I studied *Nahj al-Balāghah* up to the end." In this case, people will assume that you have listened to the wise sayings as well as the preaching.

Therefore, the two chains of Hasanī and Muṭahharī are exactly the same, and there is no difference in joining the dream into the sentence.

Here, it becomes clear that whatever they narrated at the end of the hadith, which begins with "and it is interesting," is merely a typographical error of their penmanship.

They have called the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* the old *Ṣaḥīfah,* though we call it the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah,* because it is quite obvious that the original *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* is prior to and older and more precious than the one they mistakenly call the old *Ṣaḥīfah*. The famous *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* has its own reliable chain—so by having such an author-

ized version of the *Ṣaḥīfah,* it is not right to give the name "old" to the discovered copy.

The **third objection** is that they believe that the information on the Prophet's dozing on the pulpit and the Umayyads' apes scaling it, and the saying of Imam Ṣādiq about the Night of Qadr and the verses of Surat al-Qadr's concerning the guardianship of the Household all to be fabricated.

Missing the aforementioned information is considered an advantage for the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah,* and it is said: the small differences in the book are not important enough to be mentioned! What is important is the continuation of the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* in which the event has been mentioned, while the discovered one does not have this information.

The answer to their claim is this: we have already discussed in detail that it is not permissible to omit some parts of a hadith, or to deny validity to those parts without good reason. The existence of "uttering blessing" upon Muhammad and his descendants in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* with valid consecutive chains should be considered an advantage, and its mission in the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* a disadvantage, not an advantage, as the editor of this copy has claimed.

Almost all the scholars endorse the reliability of the famous *Ṣaḥīfah.* They believe that nothing has been taken away from it, nor has anything been added to it. It should also be noted that one-third of the introduction of this edition is about Imam Ṣādiq stating to Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn about the dream of the Prophet and its interpretation, so what is your evidence for the claim that all these parts are something extra added to the original text?! Rather there is enough strong evidence to assert that they are part of the main body of book.

If any ordinary person casts his glance on the end of the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah,* he will notice that it is incomplete, as the book ends with this statement:

فَأخذَا الصَّحِيفَةَ وَقَامَا وَهُمَا يَقُولَانِ: لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إلَّا بِاللهِ. وَدَعَا المُتَوَكِّلُ بِالدَّفْتَرِ وَالصَّحِيفَةُ هي بتمامها بحمد الله وَمَنِّه وفضله

"They took the *Ṣaḥīfah,* both stood up and said: 'There is no power and no strength save in God,' and then he called al-Mutawakkil to write how the complete *Ṣaḥīfah* was written by God's assistance and blessing."

Is the sign of a defect and omission not seen in this ending statement?!

Contrary to the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* that says:

فَقَامَا وَهُمَا يَقُولَانِ: لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ. فَلَمَّا خَرَجَا، قَالَ لِي ابو عبد الله عليه السّلام: يا متوكّل! كيفَ قالَ لكَ يَحْيَى: إنَّ عَمِّي مُحَمَّدَ بنَ عَلِيٍّ وَابنَه جَعفَرَ دَعَوَا النّاسَ إلى الحَيوةِ و دَعَوْنَاهُم إلى الموتِ؟

And they both stood up saying: "There is no power and no strength save in God, the most High, the All-Great," and then when they left, Abu Abdullah told me: "O Mutawakkil! how did Yaḥyā explain to you that my uncle Muhammad Ibn Ali and his son Ja'far invited people to life; but we invited them to death?' And the Holiness continued his preaching up to this point that his uprising caused too much inconvenience for us and for our followers."

Fourthly, there is a statement from Imam Ṣādiq in the discovered version as follows:

مَا خَرَجَ وَلَا يَخْرُجُ مِنَّا أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ إِلَى قِيَامِ قَائِمِنَا أَحَدٌ لِيَدْفَعَ ظُلْمًا أَوْ يَنْعَشَ حَقًّا إِلَّا اصْطَلَمَتْهُ الْبَلِيَّةُ وَكَانَ قِيَامُهُ زِيَادَةً فِي مَكْرُوهِنَا وَشِيعَتِنَا

"There has not arisen, nor will there arise, anyone from us, the Household, up to the day of the reappearance of our Awaited Upriser to repel oppression and take people's right, unless that rising [before our Awaited one] would cause too much inconvenience for us and for our followers."

Apparently, this sentence was used as a pretext by those opposing the Islamic Republic of Iran when the 1979 revolution took place. In any case, nothing of this part is found in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*.

However, the truth is that there is convincing evidence that this statement of the Imam is part of the hadith.

Kulaynī has narrated in *al-Kāfi* from Ahmad Ibn Muhammad, from Husayn Ibn Sa'īd, from Ḥammād Ibn Īsā, from Husayn Ibn Mukhtār, from Abu Baṣīr, and from Imam Ṣādiq:

كُلُّ رَايَةٍ تُرْفَعُ قَبْلَ قِيَامِ الْقَائِمِ فَصَاحِبُهَا طَاغُوتٌ يُعْبَدُ مِنْ دُونِ اللهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ

"Any flag that is hoisted before the uprising [reappearance] of the Imam [Mahdi], its holder is a devil who is ignoring God's obedience."

'Allāmah Majlisī has narrated in *Bihār al-Anwār* about the disposition of Imam Muhammad Bāqir from *Manāqib* by Ibn Shahr Āshūb:

يُرْوَى: أنَّ زَيْدَ بْنَ عَلِيٍّ عليه السّلام لَمّا عَزَمَ عَلَى الْبَيْعَةِ قالَ لَهُ أبو جَعْفَرٍ عليه السّلام:

يا زَيْدُ! إنَّ مَثَلَ الْقائِمِ مِنْ أهْلِ هَذَا الْبَيْتِ قَبْلَ قِيامِ مَهْدِيِّهِمْ مَثَلُ فَرْخٍ نَهَضَ مِنْ عُشِّهِ مِنْ غَيْرِ أنْ يَسْتَوِيَ جَناحاهُ!

فَإذا فَعَلَ ذَلِكَ سَقَطَ، فَأخَذَهُ الصِّبْيانُ يَتَلاعَبُونَ بِهِ.

فَاتَّقِ اللهَ فِي نَفْسِكَ أنْ تَكُونَ الْمَصْلُوبَ غَداً بِالْكُناسَةِ! فَكانَ كَما قالَ.[165]

It is narrated that when Zayd Ibn Ali, peace be upon him, decided to rise and ask people to swear allegiance for his benefit, the Holiness Imam Bāqir told him:

> O Zayd! Indeed the similitude of one who rises to receive allegiance from this House before the uprising of Mahdi [the twelfth Imam] is like a chicken before forming two strong wings trying to fly out of its chickencoop.
>
> And when it does so, it falls down; then children hunt it and play with it!
>
> So be wary of God and take care of yourself lest they hang you in a dust-bin in Kūfa [the day after your rising].

This happened as the Imam had predicted it.

As you can see in the two aforementioned hadiths, their contents are exactly the same as what is mentioned in the *Ṣaḥīfah*: "There is no uprising, nor will there be in the future from among us, the Household, up to the day of the reappearance of our Promised Imam [Mahdi], to repel oppression and take people's rights, so whoever rises up during his Occultation will cause uneasiness to us and his followers."

As repelling oppression is necessary and rising against a tyrannical government is in accord with Qur'anic teaching and the religious laws, then one must interpret these kinds of hadiths to mean that uprising is unlawful if it becomes obstinate and despotic actions against the rightful Imam and his teachings.

Praise be to God that we have fully addressed this subject in volume 4, lessons 38–40, of the book of *Wilāyat-i Faqīh dar Ḥukūmat-i Islami* (the guardianship of jurists in the Islamic government).

It must be noted that in our discussion of this sort of subject, we do not have any personal political inclination; rather, as these discussions will be published under *A Course of Science and Knowledge of Islam,* it would be appropriate for us to carry out our duties in sup-

porting our religious creed. It is why we find it our responsibility to compare both the old version of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* and the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah*, so that their identities become clear.

Therefore, the summary of our discussion is that the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* is lacking an authentic chain and proof, so it must not be mixed up with the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, and it must be published with its own chain just as it has been discovered, so that the people will know the difference between the two versions of the *Ṣaḥīfah*.

It has been said that one of the most valid chains of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* is the one that has been narrated by the Zaydiyyah. The reason is that Zayd himself is the narrator of its supplications, although the number of its supplications is fewer than the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, so some have said: "The famous *Ṣaḥīfah* is called *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* because it has more supplications than the Zaydiyyah has." Moreover, the supplications in *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* are more complete than those of the discovered version.

However, this cannot be true, because when the title of *Kāmilah* (complete) was given to *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*, its supplications were just attributed to Imam Bāqir and Zayd, and no one else had added or taken anything from it yet. In the introduction of the famous *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*, Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn says to Yaḥyā:

فَأخرَجتُ إلَيهِ وُجوهاً مِنَ العِلمِ وَ أخرَجتُ لَهُ دُعاءً أملاهُ عَلَيَّ أبو عَبدِ اللهِ عليه السّلام وَ حَدَّثني أنَّ أباهُ مُحَمَّدَ بنَ عَليٍّ عليهما السّلام أملاهُ عَلَيهِ وَ أخبَرَهُ أنَّهُ مِن دُعاءِ أبيهِ عَليِّ بنِ الحُسَينِ عليهما السّلام مِن دُعاءِ الصَّحيفَةِ الكامِلَةِ.

"So I got some information from Yaḥyā, and also he narrated for me the supplication that Abu Abdullah had dictated to him, and I wrote it down. Apart from that, he had related to me that his father Muhammad Ibn Ali had dictated it to him and had informed him that it was a supplication of his father, Ali Ibn al-Husayn, in *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*."

Then Yaḥyā tells him:

أما أنّي لأخرجنّ اليك صحيفةً من الدّعاء الكامل.[166]

"Here you are; now I am going to tell you a supplication from *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*."

In the explanation of the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah*, it is mentioned that:

فَأخرَجتُ إلَيهِ دُعاءً أملاهُ عَلَيَّ أبو عَبدِ اللهِ جَعفَرُ الصّادِقُ رَحِمَهُ اللهُ قالَ: إنَّ أباهُ مُحَمَّداً رَحِمَهُ اللهُ أملاهُ عَلَيهِ وَكانَ يَدعو بِهِ وَيُسَمّيهِ الكامِل

"So I narrated to him a supplication that Abu Abdullah Ja'far Ṣādiq had dictated to me, and then he told me that his father, Muhammad, may God be pleased with, had dictated it to him, and used to read it and call it *Du'ā al-Kāmil* (the complete supplication)."

And then Yaḥyā says:

لَأُخْرِجَنَّ إِلَيْكَ صَحِيفَةً كَانَ أَبِي يُسَمِّيهَا الْكَامِلَةَ مِمَّا حَفِظَهُ عَنْ أَبِيهِ.[167]

"I am going to show you a *Ṣaḥīfah* that my father used to call *Kāmilah*. It includes the supplications that he learned from his father and memorized."

The Reason for Adding the Term *Kāmilah* to the *Ṣaḥīfah*

Sayyid Ali-khān Kabīr in his *Sharḥ* [on *Ṣaḥīfah*] has said:

وَوَصْفُهَا بِالْكَامِلَةِ لِكَمَالِهَا فِيمَا أُلِّفَتْ لَهُ أَوْ لِكَمَالِ مُؤَلِّفِهَا عَلَى حَدِّ: كُلُّ شَيْءٍ مِنَ الْجَمِيلِ جَمِيلٌ.[168]

"And its attribution of *Kāmilah* is due to the perfection of its subject, or is due to the perfection of its writer; as it is said that beauty is born from beauty."

Zayd Ibn Ali is known as the first narrator of the *Ṣaḥīfah* and of the second generation of writers in Islam. Ayatollah Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr says: "Zayd al-Shahīd is of the second generation of writers. He has a book based on the teachings of the Master of the Faithful, Imam Ali, which is mainly narrated by Omar Ibn Mūsā Rajhī Zaydī, and Zayd has also narrated *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* from his father, Imam Sajjād, who dictated it to him. Zayd's martyrdom was in 122 AH."[169]

Zayd was a knowledgeable, pious worshiper, heedless of the riches of the world, a brave and generous man, who used to always recite the Qur'an. Apart from Imam Bāqir, who was his brother, no one could be compared to him in knowledge, generosity, wisdom, and honor, either within the Banī Hāshim or among the others.

Both the friends and the enemies among the Sunnis and the Shi'a admit his knowledge and wisdom and know him to be a praiseworthy man.

The Egyptian scholar Shaykh Muhammad Abu Zuhrah has devoted one of his books to Zayd called *al-Imam Zayd, Ḥayatuhū wa 'Aṣruhū wa Ārā'uh*.

At the beginning of his introduction to the book, the author has narrated two stories from Zayd that we mention here before we address his life and his thought in more detail.

Abu Zuhrah's explanation in his introduction is as follows:

1. When Zayd Ibn Ali rose for *jihād*, he said to his companions:

إنِّي أدعُوإلَى كِتابِ اللهِ وَسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ وَإحياءِ السُّنَنِ وَإمَاتَةِ البِدَعِ؛ فَإن تَسمَعُوا يَكُن خَيرًا لَكُم وَ لِي، وَإن تَأبَوا فَلَستُ عَلَيكُم بِوَكِيلٍ؛[170]

"Certainly I am inviting you to God's Book, the tradition of His Prophet, to the revival of his traditions, and the removal of the innovation [from his traditions]. Therefore, if you listen [to me], it is good for you and me. But if you disregard it, I will not be responsible for that!"

2. To one of his companions, Zayd said:

أمَا تَرَى هَذِهِ الثُّرَيَّا؟! أتَرَى أحَدًا يَنَالُهَا؟!

قَالَ صَاحِبُهُ: لَا!

قَالَ: وَاللهِ لَوَدِدتُ أنَّ يَدِي مُلصَقَةٌ بِهَا فَأقَعَ إلَى الأرضِ أو حَيثُ أقَعُ فَأنقَطِعَ قِطعَةً قِطعَةً، وَأنَّ اللهَ يَجمَعُ بَينَ أمَّةِ مُحَمَّدٍ صلى الله عليه (و آله) وسلم.[171]

"Do you not see that Pleiades (star group)? Do you think someone can reach it?" His companion said: "No!" He said: "By God I would like to adhere to that star and then fall down from there and break into pieces, if God would unite the nation of Muhammad, may God bless him and his Descendants!"

Muhammad 'Ajjāj Khaṭīb, who is known as the collector and compiler of manuscripts during the early period of in Islam, acknowledges that Zayd's collection, named *Zayd's Majmū'*, which consists of hadiths and jurisprudence, is one the most original books in Islam. Khaṭīb believes that Zayd's collection was compiled thirty years before the book of *Muwaṭṭa'* written by Mālik Ibn Anas. He says:

As long as we are writing about the Shi'a and their books, we have to link our discussion to the main Zaydiyyah thought that can be found in his *Majmū'*. Khaṭīb maintains that we must present our discussion on the basis of three main points: first of all, who is the author and owner of *Majmū'*? Second, who is the narrator of *Majmū'*? And third, what is the *Majmū'* itself?

The Life of Zayd, His Thought, and His Martyrdom

1. Al-Imam Zayd is the son of Ali Zayn al-'Ābidīn, the son of Husayn, the son of Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, may God be pleased with all of them.

Imam Zayd was born in about 80 AH. He grew up in an educated and devout family. He was taught by his father and then trained by

his brother, Muhammad Bāqir, whose knowledge was appreciated by all the scholars of his time. He learned hadiths from the followers (*Tābi'īn*) and Companions (*Aṣḥāb*) in Medina and then traveled between Ḥijāz and Iraq.

When his uncle Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq was asked about him, the Imam said:

كَانَ وَاللهِ أَقْرَأَنَا لِكِتَابِ اللهِ، وَأَفْقَهَنَا فِي دِينِ اللهِ، وَأَوْصَلَنَا لِلرَّحِمِ؛ وَاللهِ مَا تُرِكَ فِينَا لِدُنْيَا وَلَا لِآخِرَةٍ مِثْلُه.[172]

"By God, he was more skillful than all of us in reciting God's Book, and he was more knowledgeable than us in the religion of God, and compared with us, he was more careful in meeting and assisting his relatives and friends! By God, there does not remain such a [helpful] man in our worldly life, nor will there be in the Hereafter!"

Sha'bī says:

مَا وَلَدَتِ النِّسَاءُ أَفْضَلَ مِنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ وَلَا أَفْقَهَ وَلَا أَشْجَعَ وَلَا أَزْهَد.

"Women have not given birth to a man superior, braver, or more pious than Zayd Ibn Ali."

When Imam Bāqir was asked about his brother Zayd, he said:

إِنَّ زَيْداً أُعْطِيَ مِنَ الْعِلْمِ بَسْطَة

"Certainly Zayd has been given very vast knowledge."[173]

There is much information about the relationship of Zayd with the governor Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik in different cities, which tells us how they put him in a situation to rise against the caliph.

Ibn 'Imād Ḥanbalī has mentioned another similar story that once he went to Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, and Hishām asked him: "Is it you who are claiming you will become caliph, while you are still a child of a slave woman?!"

Zayd answered:

> Never do mothers cause the fall of men! In fact, Ismā'īl's mother was a slave girl, belonging to the mother of Isaac, may God's blessing be upon him, and this relation did not prevent him from being a messenger of God. God designated him to be the father of all prophets, and then from his loins He created the best man of God, i.e., the Prophet Muhammad, may God's peace and blessing be upon him and his Descendant! Now are you telling me such-and-such, while I am the son of Fatimah and Ali?!

He then stood up and recited an elegy. After this meeting, he set out toward Kūfa. When he was still there, fifteen thousand men swore

allegiance to him, but on the night when he was going to rise up against the enemy, all except three hundred of those men left his army!

When Zayd was killed, they beheaded him and took his head to Shām, and then to Medina. All this happened in 122 AH.[174]

Imam Zayd has a *Musnad* called *Majmū' Fiqhī*, and the two-volume compendium of the hadiths collected by 'Amr Ibn Khālid.[175] Zayd has also other books, such as *Tafsīr al-Gharīb min al-Qur'an, Thatbīt al-Imamah,* and *Mansak al-Ḥajj.*[176]

2. As mentioned above, the narrator of *Majmū'* from Zayd is Abu Khālid 'Amr Ibn Khālid Wāsiṭī Hāshimī (died after 150 AH) from Kūfa. He collected two books of Zayd: *Majmū' Fiqī* and his collection of hadith. Ibn Khālid says: "I was with Imam Zayd many times. I did not hear the hadith from him except one or two or three times; rather, I received many hadiths from him, and he repeated them for me. I did not see any man among the Hāshimīs as knowledgeable as Zayd Ibn Ali. That is why I chose his companionship from among others."[177]

Abu Khālid died after 150 AH. There are different opinions about him. Qāsim Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz has said about his character: "The authorized people have narrated hadiths from Abu Khālid, 'Amr Ibn Khālid Wāsiṭī Hāshimī. He was a companion of Zayd Ibn Ali. He is the person from whom the most Zaydiyyah have embraced their creeds and have preferred his hadiths to others."[178]

The Imamiyyah[179] and others do not approve of him as an authorized person in narration of hadith, but the commentator of the *Majmū'* has criticized the claims against Abu Khālid, and at the end of his assertions supporting him, they say: "Whatever has been said against him and his books could not damage his reputation and his status of justice."[180]

Moreover, Abu Zuhrah has strongly rejected the opinion of Abu Khālid's opponents and has disputed with them. He says: "Those who have approved and accepted the hadiths of Abu Khālid are more reliable than those who are reluctant to approve them."[181]

3. *Al-Majmū'*: There are different opinions on this available book, about whether it was dictated by Imam Zayd to his companions or it was compiled by Abu Khālid!

Abu Khālid himself answered this question when Ibrahim Ibn Zibriqān asked him: "How did you receive this book from Zayd Ibn Ali?" He answered him: "I received it from him in written form, and I know that he himself compiled it. However, now none of the companions of Zayd Ibn Ali is alive [to confirm this]. They have all passed away, except me."[182]

Muhammad Ibn Muṭahhar, in the beginning of his commentary, *al-Minhāj ala al-Majmū'*, says: "The creed of Zayd Ibn Ali is unknown, and it is too difficult to find any information about it. The reason is that he has not written and recorded it in a book, but there is only Abu Khālid, who has tried to gather some details of his thought. He has collected two delicate collections from him: one of them is on hadith and the other is on *fiqh*."[183]

We may reconcile the two aforementioned opposite views as follows: Abu Khālid heard the hadiths and *fiqh* from Imam Zayd and then wrote them down and then collected each subject in a separate book. This possibility seems to be more likely, because before Zayd came to Kūfa, Abu Khālid spent five years with him in Medina. They also used to be together for a few months when they made the *ḥajj* pilgrimage.[184] It should be noted that the epoch of Imam Zayd was a suitable time for such scholarly efforts.

Nevertheless, we still cannot be sure that the book of *Majmū'* that is now in our hands is the same book that Zayd wrote, because at the beginning of most parts of the book the statements start with:

حَدَّثَنِى زَيْدُ بْنُ عَلِى

("narrated to us Zayd Ibn Ali"), and on the subject of *fiqh*, the statements usually start with:

قال زَيد بن عَلِى

("Zayd Ibn Ali said"). These kinds of statements lead us to the point of believing that Abu Khālid received this knowledge orally from Imam Zayd; nevertheless, this does negate the possibility that Imam Zayd himself collected parts of the book or dictated them to Abu Khālid.

Having expounded all these views, I would say it is quite possible that Abu Khālid received the information about *fiqh* and hadiths from Imam Zayd and then put them in two separate collections. All these events do not affect the authenticity of Zayd Ibn Ali's *Majmū'*.

According to what has been mentioned, the book of *Majmū'* includes the most important early historical information, which proves that it was written in the first part of the second century of Islam. Through our investigation, we realized that *Majmū'* was compiled thirty years before the book of *Muwaṭṭa'* by Mālik, which is the only book written in the second century.

The book *Majmū'* includes *fiqh* and hadith in a harmonious method of combination. For example, in the section of hadith, Abu Khālid

writes about the Prophet, and in the same section he writes something about Imam Ali and Zayd Ibn Ali's *fiqh*.

Majmū' consists of 228 hadiths from the Prophet, but their chains are not connected to the Prophet. The book also consists of 320 hadiths from Imam Ali and only 2 from Imam Husayn.[185]

The order of sections of *fiqh* in *Majmū'* is the same order as the book of jurisprudence compiled in later centuries, which consists of chapters of purification (*tahārah*), prayer (*ṣalāt*), funeral rites (*janā'iz*), the welfare tax (*zakāt*), fasting (*ṣawm*), pilgrimage (*ḥajj*), etc. Each chapter has its own different sections, and each section begins with a hadith from the Prophet or Imam Ali. In order to shed more light on the method of the *Majmū'*, we explain some chapters of this book as follows:

(A) About that which deserves to be avoided in prayers:

The narrator, in a hadith, says:

Zayd Ibn Ali related to me from his father and grandfather, quoting Imam Ali, saying that: "The Prophet, may God bless him and his Descendant, saw a man was touching and patting his beard while praying!"

The Prophet said:

أمَا هَذا فَلَوْ خَشَعَ قَلْبُهُ لَخَشَعَتْ جَوارِحُه

"If this man were humble, his heart [soul] and his body would be humble too!"

And Zayd Ibn Ali said:

إذَا دَخَلْتَ فِي الصَّلاَةِ فَلاَ تَلْتَفِتْ يَمِيناً وَلاَ شِمَالاً، وَلاَ تَعْبَثْ بِالْحَصَى، وَلاَ تَرْفَعْ أصَابِعَكَ، وَلاَ تَنْقُضْ أنَامِلَكَ، وَلاَ تَمْسَحْ جَبْهَتَكَ حَتَّى تَفْرُغَ مِنَ الصَّلاَة

"When you are praying, do not turn your face to the right or left, do not play with pebbles in your hand, do not raise your fingers, do not crack the knuckles of your fingers, and do not touch your forehead until you finish the prayer."

(B) From the book of business, the section about labor:

Abu Khālid says that Zayd narrated from his father and grandfather saying that a man went to the Prophet and asked:

"O Messenger of God, which job is better?"

He stated:

عَمَلُ الرَّجُلِ بِيَدِهِ، وَكُلُّ بَيْعٍ مَبْرُورٍ؛ فَإِنَّ اللهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُؤْمِنَ الْمُحْتَرِفَ. وَمَنْ كَدَّ عَلَى عِيَالِهِ كَانَ كَالْمُجَاهِدِ فِي سَبِيلِ اللهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ

"Laboring, manual work and any kind of trading are good! Because God is pleased with one who has a certain job to earn his living expenses, and whoever in his efforts does not give up at earning a living for his family is similar to one who struggles (*jihād*) in the way of God, glory be to Him in the highest."

Abu Khālid says that Zayd narrated from his father and grandfather, narrating from Imam Ali, that:

مَنْ طَلَبَ الدُّنْيَا حَلَالًا تَعَطُّفاً عَلَى وَالِدٍ أَوْ وَلَدٍ أَوْ زَوْجَةٍ، بَعَثَهُ اللهُ تَعَالَى وَوَجْهُهُ عَلَى صُورَةِ الْقَمَرِ لَيْلَةَ الْبَدْرِ[186]

Whoever is after a pure and lawful earning for the expense of living because of kindness to his father or his children or his wife, God the Highest will raise his position in the Hereafter and make his face bright like the full moon."

Some Explanations about *al-Majmū'* of Zayd Ibn Ali

Now that our discussion about *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* and one of its narrators, Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn, has come to an end, it is time to address the situation of Zayd, his knowledge, and his piety in more detail. As in the introduction of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, his son Yaḥyā and two sons of Abdullah Maḥḍ have been mentioned, we must give a brief discussion about them as well. Apart from them, we must also give some information about those people who rebelled from among the 'Alawīyyīn during the lifetime of the Imams, such as Husayn Ibn Ali, Abdullah Ibn Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, and Zayn Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ja'far, who was called Zayd al-Nār. We will also concisely address Yaḥyā Ibn Abdullah Maḥḍ, the one who encouraged Imam Kāzim to take allegiances from the people.

Muhammad Ibn Ya'qūb Kulaynī has mentioned a great number of hadiths in his book *al-Kāfi* under the subheading of "the things that distinguish between the true claims and incorrect claim of the advocates of the Imamate." A summary of Kulaynī's discussion is as follows:

At the time of any one of the pure Imams, there were some individuals from among the 'Alawiyyīn who invited the people and their contemporary Imam to follow them. For example, Muhammad Ibn Ḥanafiyyah invited Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn to accept his Imamate.

Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn called Imam Bāqir to rise up with the sword.

Abdullah Maḥḍ and his son Muhammad called Imam Ṣādiq to follow and pay homage to Muhammad.

Abdullah Ibn Ja'far considered the Imamate to be his own.

Yaḥyā Ibn Abdullah Maḥḍ invited Imam Mūsa Ibn Ja'far to him.[187]

'Allāmah Amīnī says:

Although there is a contradiction between praising and reproaching hadiths about Abdullah Maḥḍ, the opinion of the Shi'a about him is what Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs has written in his *Iqbāl*, page 51, in which he says he had a good opinion and intention toward Imam Ṣādiq.

From a valid Shi'i source [which is not available now], Ibn Ṭāwūs has narrated from Imam Ṣādiq that he recognized Abdullah as a rightful servant, and the Imam used to pray for him and his sons and uncles and ask God's good rewards for them and for their prosperity.

Then Ibn Ṭāwūs says: "It leads us to know that people whom the government had taken from Medina to Baghdad to put in jail (that is, Abdullah and his Hasaniyyūn companions) were all innocents, pious and possessors of divine knowledge. They were all praised by our Master, Imam al-Ṣādiq."

However, according to some sources, Abdullah Maḥḍ was disassociated from Imam Bāqir and Imam Ṣādiq. This could be due to some political concerns and cautions not to show his devotion to the Imams.

However, what is important for us to know is that Abdullah was devoted to the Imam and accepted the leadership of the Twelver Imami. As mentioned before through the valid hadiths, Imam Ṣādiq kept crying and mourning their death. The Imam stated:

My father related to me from Fatimah, the daughter of Imam Husayn, quoting his father, saying:

يُقْتَلُ مِنكَ ـ أَوْ يُصَابُ ـ نَفَرٌ بِشَطِّ الْفُرَاتِ مَا سَبَقَهُمُ الأَوَّلُونَ وَلَا يَعْدِلُهُمُ الآخِرُونَ.

"Some [of you] will be killed or will become mournful in [the river of] Shaṭṭ al-Arab that no one could take the lead against them, nor could one be parallel to them."

At this point, Ibn Ṭāwūs said: "In my opinion, this statement is a good proof for their being praised by the sons of Imam Hasan. They have chosen for their efforts the path of God, glory to Him in the highest—they have set out with honor, with a noble position, and victoriously."

However, Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn al-Hasan, known as Nafs Zakiyyah, is considered a companion of Imam Ṣādiq by Shaykh Abu Ja'far Ṭūṣī in his *Rijāl*. And Ibn Muhannā has said in his *'Omdat al-Ṭālib*, page 91:

> He was killed in Aḥjār Zayt. This news and title of honor was already given by the Prophet to Nafs Zakiyyah. In a narration, the Prophet says:
>
> يُقتَلُ بِأَحْجَارِ الزَّيْتِ مِنْ وُلْدِي النَّفْسُ الزَّكِيَّة
>
> However, Ibrahim Ibn Abdullah Qatīl Bākhamrī, known as Abu al-Hasan, has also been considered a companion of Imam Ṣādiq by Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah.[188]

The Narrations about the High Position of Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn

Having given some information and details about Zayd, 'Allāmah Amīnī addresses his qualifications and then brings up some poems from great poets about him. At the end, in his concluding remarks on Zayd, Amīnī says: "Basically, the Shi'a have not said anything about Zayd but good things about his character and sanctity." They take it to be their own religious duty to consider him as a sincere devotee of the Prophet and his progeny. The majority of Shi'a believe that Zayd's activities were some of the most useful and generous actions in the way of God. The best proofs for this opinion are the hadiths from the Prophet and the pure Imams as well as the poems and other historical reports about Zayd's relationship with the Imams.

It should be noted that some Prophetic hadiths are about the Prophet's communication with his grandson Imam Husayn about his son Zayd. For example, in one hadith the Prophet states:

يَخْرُجُ مِنْ صُلْبِكَ رَجُلٌ يُقَالُ لَهُ: زَيْدٌ يَتَخَطَّا هُوَ وَأَصْحَابُهُ رِقَابَ النَّاسِ، يَدْخُلُونَ الْجَنَّةَ بِغَيْرِ حِسَاب

"From your loins will be created a man called Zayd, and he along with his companions will step on people's necks [i.e., without waiting in line] and pass over to Paradise without being questioned!"[189]

'Allāmah Amīnī continues and says: "After all, it reveals that the opinion of the Shi'a is the one held by their great scholar, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Āmilī. In his treatise on the Twelfth Imam, Āmilī maintains: "We, the Imamiyyah, have nothing to say about Zayd Ibn Ali except wishing God's blessing on him, as there are hadiths from our Imams who had this prayer for him."

The Elegies That the Shi'a Poets Have Composed about Zayd

'Allāmah Kāzimī in his *Takmilah* says: "The majority of scholars in Islam have unanimously agreed on the dignity and priority of Zayd." And then he says:

> Sadīf Ibn Maymūn, in his elegy, says:
>
> لَاتُقِيلَنَّ عَبدَ شَمسٍ عِثَاراً   وَاقطَعُوا كُلَّ نَخلَةٍ وَغِرَاسِ
>
> وَاذكُرُوا مَصرَعَ الحُسَينِ وَزَيدٍ   وَقَتِيلاً بِجَانِبِ المِهرَاسِ
>
> Do not forgive the errors and blunders of the son of Shams (Banī Umayyad and Banī Marwān), who cut every rooted palm tree down!
>
> And remember the place where Husayn and Zayd fell down on the ground and were killed near Mihrās.[190]

Then Āmilī says:

> The Minister of Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād has composed an elegy that begins with:
>
> بَدَى مِنَ الشَّيبِ فِي رَأسِي تَفَارِيقُ   وَحَانَ لِلَّهوِ تَمحِيقٌ وَتَطلِيقُ
>
> هَذَا فَلَا لَهوَ مِن هَمٍّ يُعَوِّقُنِي   بِيَومِ زَيدٍ وَبَعضُ الهَمِّ تَعوِيقُ
>
> Some white hairs have come into sight on my head, so the time has come to give up feasting and pleasure.
>
> I have no pleasure, and sorrow keeps me from enjoyment; it is because of the agony of the day of Zayd and his incident. Some sorrows prevent anyone from delight!

Then Āmilī says:

> Shaykh Mirzā Muhammad Ali Ordūbādī has composed an elegy in Zayd's praise. One of its lines is as follows:
>
> أَبَتْ عَلَيَاؤُهُ إِلَّا الكَرَامَةَ فَ   لَمْ تُقبَرْ لَهُ نَفسٌ مُضَامَةً
>
> "His great and lofty soul prevented [him from anything] but generosity; thus he did not lie under soil to bear oppression!"

Moreover, he says:

Sayyid Ali Naqawī Lak-hanwī has composed an elegy for him:

أبَى اللهُ لِلأشرافِ مِنْ آلِ هَاشِمٍ سِوَى أن يَمُوتُوا في ظِلالِ الصَّوارِمِ

"God's will is that the noble and great men of Āl al-Hāshim not die unless by the swords [of enemies]."

Although Ibn Taymiyyah, in *Minhāj al-Sunnah,* and Sayyid Mahmud Ālūsī, in his treatise called *al-Sunnat wa al-Shi'a,* page 52, as well as Qaṣīmī, in his *al-Ṣirā' bayn al-Islam wa al-Wathaniyyah,* have accused the Shi'a of asserting that Zayd Ibn Ali had become an unbeliever, we must say that the Shi'a are innocent of this accusation, because they truly consider him a martyr, at a high position in Islam, and a true struggling man in the way of God. Referring to such an accusation against Shi'ism, the late Amīnī questioned the Sunnis as follows:

As if these so-called defenders of Zayd have not read any historical book written on the virtues of Zayd and totally ignore what the cruel government did to him!

Is there not anyone to ask them who considers Zayd to be a great pious man? If you truly have sympathy for Zayd, why did your ancestors fight with Zayd?! They killed him, then hanged him, burned his body, and took his head from town to town to show him to others it! Was Yūsuf Ibn Omar not their relative, fighting as the chief in their army who killed Zayd?!

Was one of them not the chief of the headquarters, Abbās Ibn Sa'd?

Was Ibn Ḥakam Ibn Ṣalt not from among those who beheaded the noble Zayd?

Was it not Ḥajjāj Ibn Qāsim who carried the message of his murder to Yūsuf Ibn Omar?

Was Kharāsh Ibn Ḥushab not from among those who exhumed his corpse from the grave?

Was Walīd of Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik not he who commanded his men to set his body on fire?

Was Zuhrat Ibn Salīm not he who carried his head to Hishām?

Was it not their caliph, Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who was commanded to take Zayd's head to Medina, the town of the Prophet, and then hang it by the grave of the Prophet for a whole night?!

Was Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik not he who wrote a letter to Khālid Qasrī commanding him to cut off the tongue of Kumayt, the poet of the Household, because of the elegy he had composed about Zayd, his son, and in the praise of Banī Hāshim?!

Was it not Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Makhzūmī, the governor of the caliph in Medina, who for seven incessant days celebrated in Medina and asked the people to curse Ali, Zayd, and their relatives and the followers?

Was it not the poet Ḥakīm A'war, from their tribe, who composed this elegy?

صَلَبْنَا لَكُمْ زَيْداً عَلَى جِذْعِ نَخْلَةٍ وَلَمْ نَرَ مَهْدِيّاً عَلَى الْجِذْعِ يُصْلَبُ
وَقِسْتُمْ بِعُثْمَانٍ عَلِيّاً سَفَاهَةً وَعُثْمَانُ خَيْرٌ مِنْ عَلِيٍّ وَأَطْيَبُ.

We hanged Zayd for you on a palm tree, and we have never seen any faithful hanged on the palm tree;

You foolishly compared Ali with Othman; however, Othman is better and purer than Ali!

Has their poet, Salīmat Ibn Ḥurr Ibn Ḥakam, not composed a poem about the murder of Zayd?!

وَأَهْلَكْنَا جَحَاجِحَ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ فَأَمْسَى ذِكْرُهُمْ كَحَدِيثِ أَمْسِ
وَكُنَّا اُسَّ مُلْكِهِمُ قَدِيماً وَمَا مُلْكٌ يَقُومُ بِغَيْرِ اُسٍّ
ضَمِنَّا مِنْهُمُ ثُكْلاً وَحُزْناً وَلَكِنْ لَا مَحَالَةَ مِنْ تَأَسٍّ

We killed the great pioneers with good morale from the Quraysh; therefore, like before, we took away their names and fame.

We have been the pillars of their government for a long period of time; how can a government stand without a pillar!

We have been tortured by them and bore it, so we must retaliate.

Was it not a person from among them who stood by Zayd's hanging head in Medina and said:

أَلا يا ناقِضَ الْمِيثا   قِ أَبْشِرْ بِالَّذِى سَاءَكا
نَقَضْتَ الْعَهْدَ وَالْمِيثا   قَ قِدْماً كانَ قَدْماكا
لَقَدْ أَخْلَفَ إِبْلِيسُ ال   ذِى قَدْ كانَ مَنّاكا[191]

O you [Zayd] who violated the treaty, good tidings to you with such injuries you have met and have ruined you!

You broke your promise, and since the old days, two men of your progeny have broken their promises! [His meaning is the Holiness Sayyid al-Shuhadā and Imam Ali.]

Certainly that devil that had lured you broke his promise.

'Allāmah Amīnī continues: "Walid Ibn Yazīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik killed Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd in 125 AH. Salam Ibn Aḥwaz Hilālī fought with Yaḥyā, and Naṣr Ibn Sayyār dispatched his army upon Yaḥyā. Isā, the servant of Isā Ibn Sulaymān 'Anzī, shot arrows at Yaḥyā, and then after his death he took away all his belongings."[192]

'Allāmah Amīnī also says:

A knowledgeable researcher, by means of what Abu al-Faraj has written in *Maqātil al-Ṭālibīn*, page 62, can discover the sympathy of the Shi'a toward Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd. When a blacksmith unchained Yaḥyā and released him, some rich men among the Shi'a went to the blacksmith to buy that chain. As the demand became high, they put it up for auction and finally sold it for more than twenty thousand dirhams. The blacksmith was afraid that the news might circulate and he might be arrested and forced to give the money back. So he asked the buyers to keep the money with them! They were satisfied with what the blacksmith said, so they kept the money and asked the man to break the chain into many pieces. The blacksmith cut the chain into small pieces and handed it over to the people. Later on, they had some ring-stones made out of those small pieces of iron and put them on their rings as a sacred relic.[193]

Moreover, Allāmah Amīnī about Hasan Ibn Hasan, whose nickname was Muthannā, says that Walīd Ibn Mālik wrote a letter to his agent, Othman Ibn Ḥayyān Mary, saying:

Keep Muthannā under control, arrest him, and give him a hundred lashes! And then every other day, make him stand among the people! And at the end, you will have to kill him!

When Walīd's letter reached Othman Ibn Ḥayyān, he sent his order to arrest him. However, Imam Ali Ibn al-Husayn taught Ibn Hasan some words of prayer to overcome that situation. He recited them, and God assisted him in overcoming this difficult situation. Hasan Muthannā was afraid of Banī Umayyad's influence, so from that time he hid himself and lived in disguise until Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik poisoned him and sent him to his death in the year 97 AH.

And Manṣūr had given to Abdullah Maḥḍ the nicknamed of Abdullah Mudhillah (a person who damages the honor of people). Manṣūr arrested him, along with nineteen others of the children of Hasan, and killed them in the Hāshimiyyah Prison in Baghdad. They were tortured in prison, and lashes had blackened their skin and cause them to bleed. Whipping had damaged the eyes of one of them, and while he was dying of thirst, they did not let him drink water. In that situation, they locked all the prison doors and they died indoors.

It is written in *Tārikh Ya'qūbī*[194] that people found them nailed to the walls of the prison after a few days. And Ḥumayd Ibn Qaḥṭabah killed Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Nafs Zakiyyah in 145 and then sent his head to Isā Ibn Mūsā. He also sent it to Abu Ja'far Manṣūr, who hung it in Kūfa for a while and then sent it to other towns to show to the people!

On the other hand, to fight with Ibrahim Ibn Abdullah, Manṣūr sent Isā Ibn Mūsā from Medina to him, and war erupted in Bākhamrī in 145 AH. They killed him and took his head to Manṣūr. First he put the head in front of Manṣūr, and then commanded his men to hang it in the market, and ordered Rabī' to take the head to his father, Abdullah, in prison.

Nassābah Omarī, in *Majdī*, says: "And after that, Ibn Abi al-Kirām Ja'farī took the head to Egypt."

Mutawakkil ordered his men to give lashes to Yaḥyā Ibn Omar,[195] and then put him in prison in the house of Fatḥ Ibn Khāqān. He was under arrest for years, and then after they released him, he went to Baghdad. He stayed in Baghdad until the time of Musta'īn, and then he went to Kūfa. In this city he began to invite the people to Imam Riḍā from the progeny of Muhammad.

Musta'īn sent a man called Kalkātkīn to Yaḥyā Ibn Omar, and Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn Ṭāhir dispatched Husayn Ibn Ismā'īl to Yaḥyā in 250 AH to fight with him. They killed Yaḥyā and took his head to Muhammad Ibn Abdullah. He put the head on a shield in front of him, and then people came to congratulate him for his victory! On the next day, he commanded his men to take the head back to Musta'īn.[196]

'Allāmah Amīnī continues:

Muhammad Ibn'Abdullah Ibn Ṭāhir fought with Yaḥyā and killed him, and then they sent his head to Sāmira. When they took his head to Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn Ṭāhir in Kūfa, he ascended the throne, and the people kept coming to congratulate him. In the meantime, Abu Hāshim Dāwūd Ibn Qāsim Ja'farī came to him and said: "The people say congratulations to you, but if the Prophet, peace be upon him and his Descendant, were alive, the people would give condolences to him!"[197]

Then he left the session while saying:

يَابَنِي طَاهِرٍ كُلُوهُ مَرِيناً   إِنَّ لَحمَ النَّبِيِّ غَيرُ مُرِيٍّ
إِنَّ وَتراً يَكُونُ طَالِبَهُ اللهُ   لَوَترٌ بِالفَوتِ غَيرُ حَرِيٍّ[198]

O Banī Ṭāhir, now eat agreeably the flesh and the blood of Yaḥyā, for indeed the flesh of the Prophet is not agreeable [to eat].

Certainly the blood that God demands does not deserve to be forgotten, and it is not lost!

Some Poems of Ḥimmānī from the Children of Zayd

Amīnī in *al-Ghadīr* mentioned Ḥimmānī[199] Afwah. This person is Abu al-Husayn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Zayd al-Shahīd Ibn Ali Ibn [Imam] al-Husayn. He considered him to be a poet in the third century who had some elegies about the event of Ghadīr. He said that Ḥimmānī passed away in 301.

Bayhaqī has narrated this elegy from him in *al-Maḥāsin wa al-Musāwī*.[200]

الْهَوَى وَهَجَرْتُ النِّسَاءَ وَكُنْتُ دَوَاءً فَأَصْبَحْتُ دَاءً 1

He then says:

بَلَغْنَا السَّمَاءَ بِأَنْسَابِنَا   وَلَوْلَا السَّمَاءُ لَجُزْنَا السَّمَاءَ 2
فَحَسْبُكَ مِنْ سُودَدٍ إِنَّنَا   بِحُسْنِ الْبَلَاءِ كَشَفْنَا الْبَلَاءَ 3
يَطِيبُ الثَّنَاءُ لِآبَائِنَا   وَذِكْرُ عَلِيٍّ يَزِينُ الثَّنَاءَ 4
إِذَا ذَكَرَ النَّاسُ كُنَّا مُلُوكاً   وَكَانُوا عَبِيداً وَكَانُوا إِمَاءً 5

هَجَانِي قَوْمٌ وَلَمْ أَهْجُهُمْ   أَبَى اللهُ لِي أَنْ أَقُولَ الْهِجَاءَ[201] 6

1. I opposed with my passion and avoided the women; and I was medicine and cure [of the sicknesses] but I became sick myself!

Then he continues:

2. Due to the nobility and generosity of our progeny, we reached high to the sky, and if there were not the sky [in our way], we would even go farther.

3. If you would like to know of our supremacy, it is enough for you to know our good manners and behavior in difficulties and how we leave behind our problems.

4. Praising our fathers is desirable, and Ali's name and his remembrance flourish in that praise.

5. If there is a comparison among people, then we would be at the level of the kings and the people as the slaves and maids!

6. A group of people satirized me with their mockery; however, I did not satirize them, because God has forbidden me to mock others.

In *Manāqib,*[202] Ibn Shahr Āshub has mentioned this elegy:

يَابْنَ مَنْ بَيْنَهُ مِنَ الدِّينِ وَالإِسْلَا   مِ بَيْنَ الْمَقَامِ وَالْمِنْبَرَيْنِ 1

لَكَ خَيْرُ الْبَنِيَّتَيْنِ مِنْ مَسْجِدَىْ جَدْ   دِكَ وَالْمَنْشَأَيْنِ وَالْمَسْكَنَيْنِ 2

وَالْمَسَاعِي مِنْ لَدُنْ جَدِّكَ اسْمَا   عِيلَ حَتَّى اُدْرِجْتَ فِي الرِّبْطَتَيْنِ 3

يَوْمَ نِيطَتْ بِكَ التَّمَائِمُ ذَاتُ الرِّ   يشِ مِنْ جَبْرَئِيلَ فِي الْمَنْكِبَيْنِ 4

1. O you for whom the gap between you and Islam is like the distance between the spiritual stage and the Two Pulpits,

2. The two chosen places, in the mosque of your grandfather, are for you—the two places of dwelling and growing up,

3. And the whole endeavor was for you since the time of your great-grandfather, Ismā'īl, until you were tied up in two armlets,

4. On the day when Gabriel brought down to you the supplications and exorcisms decorated with feathers, and then put them on your shoulders to exorcise you with!

The above-mentioned elegy was composed by Ḥimmānī for Sayyid al-Shuhadā [Imam Husayn], who was ill in his childhood, and Gabriel brought down to him a certain supplication wrapped up in a piece of cloth to tie on his two shoulders.

And there is another elegy:

أَنْتُمَا سَيِّدَا شَبَابِ الْجِنَا ... نِ يَوْمَ الْفَوْزَيْنِ وَالرَّوْعَتَيْنِ 5

يَا عَدِيلَ الْقُرآنِ مِنْ بَيْنِ ... ذَا الْخَلْقِ وَيَا وَاحِداً مِنَ الثَّقَلَيْنِ 6

أَنْتُمَا وَالْقُرْءَانُ فِي الأرْضِ مُذْأُ ... نْزِلَ مِثْلُ السَّمَاءِ وَالْفَرْقَدَيْنِ 7

فَهُمَا مِنْ خِلَافَةِ اللهِ فِي الأرْ ... ضِ بِحَقٍّ مَقَامَ مُسْتَخْلَفَيْنِ 8

قَالَهُ الصَّادِقُ الْحَدِيثِ وَلَنْ ... يَفْتَرِقَا دُونَ حَوْضِهِ وَارِدَيْنِ 9

5. You are the two Masters of the youths in Paradise on the two days of victory and fright,

6. O the pair of the Qur'an among the whole creatures, and O the only precious thing remaining after the demise of the Prophet!

7. Both of you along with the Qur'an have descended to the earth from Farqadayn (the two stars in the sky).

8. Therefore, those two deserved and were right to be God's caliph on the earth,

9. The righteous Prophet has said this in a hadith: "They will not separate from each other until they arrive at the Kawthar [river in Paradise]."

'Allāmah Amīnī says:

This great Sayyid, Ḥimmānī, who is from the lineage of Muhammad Ibn Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn, has great lineages of generous Sayyids and the most distinguished grandchildren of great poets, a writer, and preacher. Among these great scholars are the family of Qazvinis who emigrated to Baghdad. Ḥimmānī's father, grandfather, and great grandfathers up to Zayd were also famous in knowledge with such a highly honored position.[203]

Moreover 'Allāmah Amīnī has said about Zayd Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ja'far that Abu Nu'aym and Khaṭīb have narrated from Imam Riḍā

that his brother reproached Zayd when he rebelled against Ma'mūn, when the Imam told him:

مَاأَنتَ قَائِلٌ لِرَسُولِ اللهِ؟! أَغَرَّكَ قَوْلُهُ: إِنَّ فَاطِمَةَ أَحْصَنَتْ فَرْجَهَا فَحَرَّمَهَا اللهُ وَذُرِّيَّتَهَا عَلَى النَّارِ؟!
إِنَّ هَذَا لِمَنْ خَرَجَ مِنْ بَطْنِهَا لَا لِي وَلَا لَكَ؛ وَاللهِ مَا نَالُوا ذَلِكَ إِلَّا بِطَاعَةِ اللهِ. فَإِنْ أَرَدْتَ أَنْ تَنَالَ
بِمَعْصِيَتِهِ مَا نَالُوهُ بِطَاعَتِهِ إِنَّكَ إِذاً لَأَكْرَمُ عَلَى اللهِ مِنْهُمْ!

> What are you going to tell the Messenger of God? Have you been misled by his statement: "Indeed as Fatimah has saved her purity, God prevents the fire from touching her and her lineage!"?
>
> This statement is about those whom Fatimah has given birth to; it is neither for me nor for you! By God, they have attained such a position only by obeying God. However, if you had received through disobeying God what they have received by obeying God, in that case you would be more honorable than they with God!

This narration of Imam Riḍā about Zayd refers to anyone who may be deceived by worshiping and obedience and believe that they have virtue and priorities over other people. The Companions of the Prophet were people of virtue and strong faith; however, they were always humbly in fright. These group of faithful people can be called lineage (*dhuriyyah*), because lineage is not particular to those who are born of Fatimah, as it does not mean so in Arabic. For example, it is mentioned in the Holy Qur'an:

وَمِن ذُرِّيَّتِهِ دَاوُدَ وَسُلَيْمَانَ

...and from the lineage of Dāwūd and Sulaymān (6: 84);[204] however, there are centuries of distance between them.[205]

Abu al-Abbās Saffāḥ, who was known as Abdullah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abdullah Ibn Abbās, was according to Ṭabarī the caliph in Kūfa on the thirteenth of Rabī' al-Ākhar, 132 AH. At that time, the people of Kūfa swore allegiance to him.

Ṭabarī narrates it from Hishām Ibn Muhammad, but he says it was narrated by Wāqidī in Jamādi al-Ūlā, 132 AH, when the people swore allegiance to al-Abbās Saffāḥ.[206]

Muḥaddith Qumi has said that at the time of Banī Umayyad's downfall, a group of people from Banī Abbās, such as Abu al-Abbās Saffāḥ, along with his brothers, Abu Ja'far Manṣūr and Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad, and his uncle, Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ali, and a group of some others, such as Abdullah Maḥḍ with his two sons, Muhammad and Ibrahim, and his step-brother, Muhammad Dībāj, and some others, came

together at Abwā' and decided to swear allegiance to one of Abdullah Maḥḍ's sons. Therefore, they all swore allegiance to Muhammad Ibn Ḥanafiyyah. The reason for this action was that they had heard from a Shi'a Imam that Mahdi, the offspring of Muhammad, was of the same name as the Prophet.[207]

Therefore, they sent someone to Imam Ṣādiq and Abdullah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn Ali to swear allegiance to Muhammad Ibn Ḥanafiyyah.

Imam Ṣādiq did not swear allegiance to him and said: "This is not the same as our promised Mahdi, and his name, Muhammad, is the reason of your confusion!" Then he said to Abdullah Maḥḍ: "If this allegiance is for his uprising and enjoining the good, why shouldn't we support you, who are the Shaykh of Banī Ḥāshim?" Abdullah said: "This is not right; you are not swearing allegiance because of your jealousy!"

The Imam then stood up, while touching Saffāḥ's shoulder, and said: "This man and his brothers, as well as his children, will become caliph." He then touched Abdullah Maḥḍ on his shoulder and said: "You and your brother will never achieve the position of caliph, because both of your brothers will be killed!" And he told 'Abd al-Azīz: "The man in the yellow robe (Manṣūr) will kill Abdullah and his son."

Manṣūr went on *ḥajj* pilgrimage in the year 140, and when he arrived in Medina he jailed Abdullah, the sons of Hasan (Banī al-Hasan), and Muhammad Dībāj.[208]

Ṭabarī has narrated that 'Abu al-Abbās Saffāḥ died on the thirteenth of Dhī al-Ḥajja, in the year 136. He died four years after the death of Marwān. He was probably thirty-three, twenty-six, or thirty-eight years old when he died.

In the same year, Abu al-Abbās, Abdullah Ibn Muhammad, wrote a letter to his brother (Abdullah Ibn Muhammad)[209] to choose Abu Ja'far Isā Ibn Mūsā Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali as caliph after him and after Manṣūr. He handed the letter to 'Isā.

In the year 137 AH, Manṣūr assassinated Abu Muslim Khorasani. He invited him to come to a place called Ghaylah to shelter him, but as soon as Abu Muslim entered that place, he murdered him. Ṭabarī has explained the event in detail.[210]

Ṭabarī also said: "In 139 AH, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mu'āwīyah Ibn Hishām 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān set out for Andalusia. The Andalusian people nominated him as their governor. In the same year, Abu Ja'far Manṣūr extended the Masjid al-Ḥarām.[211]

Then in 140 AH, Manṣūr went on *ḥajj* pilgrimage, and in the same year he arrived in Medina, he imprisoned Abdullah Maḥḍ.[212]

Abu Ja'far Manṣūr commanded Riyāḥ[213] to imprison the children of Hasan, and he appointed Abu Azhar Muhrī to do this job.

For three years, Abdullah, the son of Hasan, was imprisoned by Manṣūr. Hasan Ibn Hasan, the brother of Abdullah, was so mournful about his brother that his hair turned white. And Abu Ja'far Manṣūr used to say: "See how much extreme love changes one!"

Riyāḥ imprisoned Hasan Muthallath (the third Hasan in this family) and Ibrahim (Ghamr), the two sons of Hasan Ibn Hasan (Hasan Muthannā, i.e., the second Hasan). He also imprisoned Hasan Ibn Ja'far Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan and Sulaymān and Abdullah, the two sons of Dāwūd Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan, and Muhammad, Ismā'īl, and Isḥāq, the sons of Ibrahim Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan. He imprisoned Abbāb Ibn Hasan Muthallath Ibn Hasan Muthannā, the son of Imam Hasan. He arrested the latter in his house, and his mother, Āyishah, the daughter of Ṭalḥah Ibn Omar Ibn Abdullah Ibn Mu'ammar, said: "Let me smell him for the last time!"

They answered: "By God, there is no way for you to smell him as long as you are alive!" Moreover, they arrested Ali 'Ābid Ibn Hasan (Muthallath) Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan. They arrested all of them and imprisoned them.

Abu Ja'far Manṣūr also arrested Abdullah Ibn Hasan, Ali's brother (another son of Hasan Muthallath).[214]

Ibn Zubālah narrates:

> I heard some of our learned men say:
>
> مَاسَارَّعَبْدُاللهِبْنُ حَسَنٍ أحَداًقَطُّ إلاّ فَتَلَهُ عَنْ رَأيِهِ
>
> "Abdullah Ibn Hasan did not have a discussion with any of his opponents privately, without changing his opinion!"

Abu Ja'far Manṣūr took the *ḥajj* pilgrimage in 144, and Riyāḥ in Rabadhah had a meeting with him. Manṣūr commanded him to return to Medina and ordered Riyāḥ to jail Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn 'Amr Ibn Othman Ibn 'Affān, who was known as Muhammad Dībāj, and he was the maternal brother of Abu al-Hasan. The sons of Hasan, who were in Manṣūr's jail in Medina for three years, were moved to a Kūfa prison.

It should be noted that the mother of all the above-mentioned people was Fatimah, daughter of Husayn Ibn Ali.

Manṣūr left Rabadhah for Kūfa. He was sitting on a camel-litter but chained the sons of Hasan and Muhammad Dībāj. He made them

ride on uncomfortable saddleless camels up to Kūfa. In Kūfa, he imprisoned them in Hāshimiyyah prison close to Qanṭarah prison.

On the way to Kūfa, he gave four hundred lashes to Muhammad Dībāj and injured his body, and his clothes stuck to his bleeding flesh. He was undressed and then ordered to wear rough clothes. Then they moved his camel in front of Abdullah Maḥḍ, his step-brother, so that Abdullah witnessed how his brother was suffering. It is narrated that through the whole journey, Abdullah was watching the extreme pain of his brother with sorrow without being able to help.[215]

They put them in a very dark prison with a strong, fetid smell, so after a short time, their bodies became infected, and in the end all died, one after another.[216]

When they were taking Banī al-Hasan to Kūfa, his sons, Muhammad and Ibrahim, kept going to visit their fathers in secret, so they changed their turbans and appeared to him as Bedouins. Any time they met him they asked when and how they are allowed to revolt against Manṣūr. Their father advised them not to hurry, but to wait until the right time came.

And he said:

إنْ مَنَعَكُمَا أبُو جَعْفَرٍ أنْ تَعِيشَا كَرِيمَيْنِ، فَلَا يَمْنَعُكُمَا أنْ تَمُوتَا كَرِيمَيْن.[217]

"If Manṣūr Dawāniqī prevents you from having a proper life, he cannot prevent you from choosing an honorable death!"

Sulaymān Ibn Dāwūd Ibn Hasan says:

> I never saw Abdullah Ibn Hasan complain of so much torture he had to tolerate, but only once. It was when the camel of Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn 'Amr Ibn Othman suddenly startled while he was tied up in chains and an extra iron bar locked on his neck. He was not able to control himself and fell off the camel while the other end of the iron bar was caught in the saddle of the camel. I clearly saw that Muhammad was hanging and struggling to save himself. It was then Abdullah Ibn Hasan cried out very loudly![218]

Later on, Muhammad Ibn Abi Ḥarb [governor of Khorasan] narrated to me that Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn 'Amr (Dībāj) was imprisoned innocently by Manṣūr, until Abu 'Awn wrote a letter to Manṣūr from Khorasan saying: "Inform the caliph that the people of Khorasan will not fulfill my commands, because Abdullah is imprisoned for so long."

Despite all this, Abu Ja'far Manṣūr commanded his men to behead Muhammad Ibn Abdullah. Then, before long, he sent his head to Khorasan, swearing that it was the genuine head of Muhammad

Ibn Abdullah; his mother was Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet, may God bless him and his Descendant.

It is narrated that then Manṣūr commanded his people to beat Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Othmani (Dībāj) to death. Manṣūr beheaded him and sent his head to Khorasan.

When the news reached Abdullah Ibn Hasan,[219] he said:

إِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ. وَاللّٰهِ إِنْ كُنَّا لَنَأْمَنُ بِهِ فِي سُلْطَانِهِمْ ثُمَّ قَدْ قُتِلَ بِنَا فِي سُلْطَانِنَا. [220]

"We are from God, and our return is to Him! By God, we were safe and secure due to his reputation (Muhammad Dībāj's) during the time of Banī Umayyad, but now under Banī Hāshim's government, he is killed because of us!"

The Biography of Abdullah Ibn Hasan

Miskīn Ibn 'Amr narrated:

> When Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn Hasan rebelled, Manṣūr Dawāniqī commanded his men to behead Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn 'Amr, and then he sent his head to Khorasan with a group of people to swear for them that the head belonged to Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet. When I asked Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Ibrahim what made them kill Muhammad Ibn 'Amr, he answered: "They just needed his head!"
>
> When the head arrived there, the people of Khorasan said: "But he was killed once before, and they sent his head here to us!" It was then everything became clear and everyone found out the true story, so from that time, they kept saying: "We had heard no lie from Abu Ja'far Manṣūr bigger than this lie!"[221]
>
> Having heard this, Manṣūr reacted deceitfully, and instead of the head of Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn Hasan, he sent Muhammad Dībāj's head, the maternal brother of Abdullah Maḥḍ, whose mother was Fatimah, the daughter of al-Husayn.
>
> Manṣūr did this because Muhammad Dībāj's mother was Fatimah, the daughter of al-Husayn; in fact she was Imam Husayn's daughter, and therefore he wanted to show off that he had killed the son of Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet.
>
> Nevertheless, the lineage of the mother of Muhammad Ibn Abdullah was quite clear, because Abdullah is the son of Hasan Ibn Hasan; therefore, he is the son of Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet, as well. In other words, the wife of Hasan Ibn Hasan is the same Hasan Muthannā, from

Fatimah, the daughter of al-Husayn, so the mother of Abdullah is the son of Fatimah, the daughter of al-Husayn, and Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn Hasan also on his father's side, as well as his mother's side, is related to Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet.

Manṣūr took advantage of these two similar names and sent Muhammad Dībāj's head under the name of Muhammad Ibn Abdullah!

Ṭabarī has also said: "Manṣūr imprisoned Banī al-Hasan in such a dark place that they couldn't make out the time for the prayer! Ali Ibn Hasan (son of Muthallath, who was called 'Ābid) used to just guess the time by the duration of the Qur'an that he recited."

He also says:

> Omar used to say:
>
>> Ibn Āyishah related to me:
>>
>>> I heard from a slave of Banī Dārim who said he asked Bashīr Raḥḥāl about the reason of his uprising against Manṣūr!
>>>
>>> Bashīr answered:
>>>
>>>> After Manṣūr arrested Banī al-Hasan, he sent someone after me and I went to him. He asked me to enter a room in which I saw Abdullah Ibn Hasan was killed and his body falling on the floor. I was shocked, lost control, and became unconscious and collapsed. After this incident, I decided to take the side of anyone who would fight Manṣūr someday in the future. I then revealed my secret to the man who had taken me there, but I asked him not to say anything to Manṣūr, because he would certainly kill me for my decision against him!
>
> Omar used to say:
>
>> I asked Hishām Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Hishām Ibn Rāshid, who was on the side of the Abbasid, about the murder of Abdullah Maḥḍ, whether Abu Ja'far Manṣūr killed Abdullah or not. Hishām was certain that he had not done so; however, he sent someone in disguise to him and told him: "Muhammad rebelled and so he was killed." Upon hearing this very sad news, Abdullah had a heart attack and died!
>
> He also said:

> Īsā Ibn Abdullah narrated to me that Banī al-Hasan in prison were thirsty and asking for water, but they did not give them any water to drink and they died of thirst! The only ones left alive were Sulaymān and Abdullah, the two sons of Dāwūd, Ibn Hasan, Isḥāq and Ismā'īl, the two sons of Ibrahim Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan and Ja'far Ibn Hasan.[222]

> When in Rabadhah, they took the prisoners of Banī al-Hasan to Manṣūr, who also sent for Muhammad Dībāj. When they brought him to Manṣūr, he asked him: "Now tell me what these two liars did? And where were they living?"

> Muhammad said: "O Master of the Believers, by God, I have no knowledge about them."

> Manṣūr said: "You have to inform me!" And Muhammad said: "By God, I am not lying; I told you that I have no knowledge about them. Before today, I knew where they lived, but today, I do not know anything about them."

> Manṣūr commanded his men to undress Muhammad Dībāj! Manṣūr's people found him, bound his body with chains, and gave him a hundred lashes. When they finished lashing him, they took him outside. He was dressed in *quhī*[223] cloth (common clothes worn after being lashed) and then they brought him to us.[224] By God, the *quhī* cloth was stuck to his body, and blood was running out of it. We could not take it off to ease his pain. Later, some others took it off and applied an ointment.

> Abu Ja'far Manṣūr said: "Move Banī al-Hasan immediately to Iraq!" So they took us there and imprisoned us in the Hāshimiyyah prison. The first man among us who died in this prison was Abdullah Ibn Hasan. The prison guard asked us to pray over his body, and his brother, Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn Ali, went outside and performed this ritual.

> Following him, Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn 'Amr Ibn Othman passed away. They took his head, and with a group of Shi'a, moved it to Khorasan. There, they showed off his head in different cities and announced that it was the head of Muhammad Ibn Abdullah, the son of Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet. By this action, they wanted to make the people think that it was the head of Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn Hasan (the name that they had found in a hadith in which it is said he will rise up against Abu Ja'far Manṣūr).[225]

When the people asked Mālik Ibn Anas about Muhammad's uprising and asked him whether they could join Muhammad in his

uprising, while they had already sworn allegiance to Manṣūr, he answered:

إنّما بايعتم مُكرَهين وليس على كلّ مُكرَهٍ يمين.

"You have sworn allegiance reluctantly, and a reluctant allegiance is invalid, and you will not be taken to task for breaking it!"

Having heard this *fatwa*, the people rushed to help Muhammad, but Mālik remained in his house.

Muhammad Ibn Ismā'īl also narrated to me that Ibn Abi Malīkah, the servant of Abdullah Ibn Ja'far, had narrated to him:

> Muhammad sent someone to Ismā'īl Ibn Abdullah Ibn Ja'far—when he was an old man—and asked Ismā'īl to swear allegiance after he rebelled.
>
> Ismā'īl said: "O my brother's son! By God, you will be killed, so how can I swear allegiance to you?"
>
> After the people heard this from Ismā'īl, they left Muhammad behind, except a few.
>
> However, the sons of Mu'āwīyah Ibn Abdullah Ibn Ja'far hastened to Muhammad to swear allegiance to him. Mu'āwīyah's daughter, Ḥamādah, went to Ismā'īl and told him: "O my dear uncle! My brothers hasten to swear allegiance to their cousin, so if you publicize your decision of rejecting Muhammad's request, then you will stop people from helping him, and therefore my brothers and my cousin will be killed."
>
> Ibn Abi Malīkah says:
>
>> The old Shaykh, Ismā'īl, rejected her request a well. But it is said that Ḥamādah jumped over him and killed the old man!
>>
>> Muhammad was going to pray over his body, but Abdullah Ibn Ismā'īl rushed to him, saying: "You commanded my father be killed, and now you want to pray over his body?!" Nevertheless, the guards took Abdullah away and let Muhammad to do this ritual.[226]

Muḥaddith Qumi says: "Muhammad Nafs Zakiyyah rebelled in Medina on the first day of Rajab, in the year 145, and in the middle of Ramaḍān was killed at Aḥjār al-Zayt in Medina. He was forty-five years old when he died. His uprising to his martyrdom was the length of two-and-a-half months."[227]

Ibrahim, the brother of Muhammad, rebelled in Ramaḍān 145 AH in Baṣra, and then the people of Kūfa invited him, but he was martyred in Ṭaff, an area sixteen miles away from Kūfa. He died on a

Monday of Dhi al-Ḥajjah, in the year 145 AH. He was forty-seven years old when he died. Manṣūr commanded his head to be taken to his father in the Hāshimiyyah prison.[228]

Muhammad Ibn Ya'qūb Kulaynī has narrated a lengthy hadith in *al-Kāfi,* in the section in which he addresses the discussions of the advocates and opponents of the issue of the imamate. In that part, he has mentioned Banī al-Hasan's biography in detail. This hadith includes the historical events as well as the discussions on the Imamate of Imam Ṣādiq. He also explains the incorrect story of Abdullah Maḥḍ and his sons. The major subjects that Kulaynī narrates are as follows:

1. Khadījah, daughter of Omar Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, told Abdullah Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Ja'farī:

> I heard from my uncle, Muhammad Ibn Ali, who said:
>
> إِنَّمَا تَحْتَاجُ الْمَرْأَةُ فِي الْمَأْتَمِ إِلَى النَّوْحِ لِتَسِيلَ دَمْعَتُهَا، وَلَا يَنْبَغِي لَهَا أَنْ تَقُولَ هُجْراً. فَإِذَا جَاءَ اللَّيْلُ فَلَا تُؤْذِي الْمَلَائِكَةَ بِالنَّوْحِ؛
>
> "In mourning, certainly women need to scream and cry and weep! It is not permissible for her to say nonsense words, but she is not allowed to do so during the night, as the angels get annoyed by her mourning."

2. Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Maḥḍ, in his exile, was hidden on a mountain in the Juhaynah area that was called Ashqar. The distance between this area and Medina was about a two nights' journey.

3. When Abdullah had a meeting with Imam Ṣādiq, he insisted the Imam swear allegiance to his son, but the Imam refused and said:

وَاللهِ إِنَّكَ لَتَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُ الْأَحْوَلُ الْأَكْشَفُ الْأَخْضَرُ الْمَقْتُولُ بِسُدَّةِ أَشْجَعَ عِنْدَ بَطْنِ مَسِيلِهَا.[229]

"By God, you know that Muhammad is the same squint-eyed, messy-haired and dark-skinned person who was killed near a ground that is the pathway of floods!"

He then stated:

> I am afraid this line of elegy can be related to the condition of Muhammad:
>
> مَنَّتْكَ نَفْسُكَ فِي الْخَلَاءِ ضَلَالًا
>
> "In your secrecy, your ego has led you to wrong wishes!"

> فَوَاللهِ إِنِّي لَأَرَاهُ أَشْأَمَ سَلْحَةٍ أَخْرَجَتْهَا أَصْلَابُ الرِّجَالِ إِلَى أَرْحَامِ النِّسَاءِ.
>
> "By God, I clearly and certainly see him as like the dirtiest excrement released from the loins of men to the wombs of women!"
>
> And the Imam told Abdullah:
>
> اخبِرُكَ أَنِّي سَمِعْتُ عَمَّكَ وَهُوَ خَالُكَ يَذْكُرُ: أَنَّكَ وَبَنِي أَبِيكَ سَتُقْتَلُونَ.[230]
>
> "I inform you of your uncle, who is also your cousin, saying: 'You and your brother will be killed very soon.'"

4. As the words of the Imam were not effective, he stated:

أَمَا وَاللهِ إِنْ كُنْتُ حَرِيصاً وَلَكِنِّي غُلِبْتُ، وَلَيْسَ لِلْقَضَاءِ مَدْفَعٌ.
ثُمَّ قَامَ وَأَخَذَ إِحْدَى نَعْلَيْهِ فَأَدْخَلَهَا رِجْلَهُ وَالاخرى فِي يَدِهِ وَعَامَّةُ رِدَائِهِ يَجُرُّهُ فِي الارْضِ، ثُمَّ دَخَلَ بَيْتَهُ، فَحُمَّ عِشْرِينَ لَيْلَةً لَمْ يَزَلْ يَبْكِي فِيهِ اللَّيْلَ والنَّهَارَ حَتَّى خِفْنَا عَلَيْهِ.

"Be aware! By God, I was eager to teach you and guide you to the straight path; however, I become hopeless and defeated—and there is no impediment for the divine decrees."

Soon after, he rose up and put on one of his shoes and held the other one in his hand, and then while his long robe was touching the ground, he left for his house. Upon entering his house, he came down with a bad fever, so he went to bed. He was so suffering so much with the fever that we were afraid he might die!

5.Abu Ja'far Dawāniqī killed all those who were in his prison except Hasan Ibn Ja'far, Ṭabā Tab, Ali Ibn Ibrahim, Sulaymān Ibn Dāwūd, Dāwūd Ibn Hasan, and Abdullah Ibn Dāwūd.

6. Īsā Ibn Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn was one of the trustworthy people of Muhammad, so once he told Muhammad:

> To take allegiance from Ja'far Ibn Muhammad, you must be harsh to him! Therefore, they invited the Holiness to them and forced him to swear allegiance. The Holiness briefly spoke to them, and then Īsā said:
>
> لَوْ تَكَلَّمْتَ لَكَسَرْتُ فَمَكَ
>
> "If you speak further, I will smash your mouth!'"

Then the Holiness told Muhammad:

أمَا وَاللهِ يَا أَكْشَفُ، يَا أَزْرَقُ، لَكَأَنِّي بِكَ تَطْلُبُ لِنَفْسِكَ جُحْراً تَدْخُلُ فِيهِ، وَمَا أَنْتَ فِي الْمَذْكُورِينَ عِنْدَ اللِّقَاءِ، وَإِنِّي لَأَظُنُّكَ إِذَا صُفِقَ خَلْفَكَ، طِرْتَ مِثْلَ الْهَيْقِ النَّافِرِ.

"O you evil man, be aware for God's sake! I swear to God that you are after a room to hide in and save yourself! You cannot consider yourself to be one of those who are brave and celebrated in war![231] I am certain that you are such a man that if you heard someone clapping behind you, you would fear and run away, and like an ostrich, would jump up and down!"

Right then, Surāqī Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Khut took the Imam to prison.

7. They brought Ismā'īl Ibn Abdullah Ibn Ja'far Ibn Abi Ṭālib to them to make him swear allegiance to them. He was a very frail old man, losing the sight of one of his eyes. He did not agree to swear allegiance, and Ismā'īl addressed a hadith about his death by them, so they returned him to his home.

The sons of Mu'āwīyah Ibn Abdullah Ibn Ja'far, who had sworn allegiance to Muhammad, and had hastened in their swearing, rushed to Ismā'īl's house the same night and kicked their uncle to death.

After this incident, Muhammad sent someone to prison to free Imam Ṣādiq.

8. Manṣūr's army, under the command of Īsā Ibn Mūsā, came to Medina and surrounded the city. Ḥumaid Ibn Qaḥṭabah killed Muhammad, and his Companions were defeated.[232]

The great jurist Shaykh Abdullah Māmqānī has explained the life and situation of Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn al-Hasan in detail. He said: "Some of the recent narrators believed that Zayd and Banī al-Hasan's uprising was approved by Imam Ṣādiq, but for political reasons, the Imam kept this matter a secret."

Māmqānī's opinion about Zayd agrees with Imami scholars' view, as we already mentioned some of the important evidence in favor of this truth.

Ibn Ṭāwūs's Support of Muhammad and Ibrahim, the Sons of Abdullah Maḥḍ

Māmqānī continues:

> The political actions of Muhammad and other sons of Imam Hasan led us to believe something against this assertion and that Imam Ṣādiq was

not really happy with them. However, in the book *Iqbāl*, Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs attempts to justify Banī al-Hasan's attitudes and their opposition to the Imam through the logic that they wanted to save the Imam and in such a way that nobody would assume that their uprising was related to him.

To support his argument, Ibn Ṭāwūs narrates a hadith from Imam Ṣādiq in which the Imam says:

> When the sons of his cousins took him to Iraq, the Imam cried so hard that almost everyone could hear his voice. The Imam then said:
>
>> My father related to me from Fatimah, the daughter of al-Husayn, who said:
>>
>>> I heard from my father saying:
>>>
>>> يُقْتَلُ مِنكِ أَوْ يُصَابُ مِنكِ نَفَرٌ بِشَطِّ الْفُرَاتِ مَا سَبَقَهُمُ الأَوَّلُونَ وَلَا يُدْرِكُهُمُ الآخِرُونَ. وَإِنَّهُ لَمْ يَبْقَ مِنْ وُلْدِهَا غَيْرُهُم.
>>>
>>> O Fatimah, either some people from among you will be killed, or a tragic event will afflict some of you by the river of al-Furāt, which has never happened to anyone before you, nor will happen to any one of you in the future. In fact, none of the children of Fatimah will survive except this son of al-Hasan, who is imprisoned in the Hāshimiyyah prison near Shaṭṭ al-Furāt.

Under this hadith, Sayyid Ṭāwūs writes: "Imam Ṣādiq's weeping, and this hadith, can be an evidence that the Imam approved their rebelling against the government and the reason that they did not relate themselves to the Imam was to save the Imam."

However, Māmqānī says: "The cry of the Imam shows his mercifulness and sympathy, not his approval of their uprising."[233]

The Hadiths Narrated in *al-Kāfī* about Imam Bāqir's Rejection of the Uprising of His Brother Zayd

In *al-Kāfī*, Kulaynī has mentioned the whole conversation of Imam Bāqir with Zayd Ibn Ali, his brother, that shows how the Imam advised him it was not the right time to rise up. The uprising must be carried out at the right time and with the command of the Imam.

This famous hadith is as follows:

إنَّ الطَّاعةَ مَفرُوضَةٌ مِنَ اللهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ، وَسُنَّةٌ أمضَاهَا فِي الاوَّلِينَ، وَكَذلِكَ يُجرِيهَا فِي الآخِرِينَ. وَ
الطَّاعةُ لِوَاحِدٍ مِنَّا وَالمَوَدَّةُ لِلجَمِيع. وَأمرُ اللهِ يَجرِي لِاولِيائِهِ بِحُكمٍ مَوصُولٍ، وَقَضاءٍ مَفصُولٍ، وَ
حَتمٍ مَقضِيٍّ، وَقَدَرٍ مَقدُورٍ، وَأجَلٍ مُسَمّىً لِوَقتٍ مَعلُومٍ
فَلَا يَستَخِفَّنَّكَ الَّذِينَ لَا يُوقِنُون،
إنَّهُم لَن يُغنُوا عَنكَ مِنَ اللهِ شَيئاً، فَلَا تَعجَلْ؛ فَإنَّ اللهَ لَا يَعجَلُ لِعَجَلَةِ العِبادِ، وَلَا تَسبِقَنَّ اللهَ فَتُعجِزَكَ
البَلِيَّةُ، فَتَصرَعَكَ؛

Indeed, the act of being obedient is made incumbent [upon man] by God, glory to Him, and it is a custom that God has destined since the first day. He has also commanded it to be considered forever. Obeying only one of us is incumbent, and loving each other is incumbent on all of us. And the issue of the authority of the saints of God is the divine command. This command is a definite and a certain truth; its time is already fixed and assigned.

Therefore, let those who are not certain not make you hopeless (Qur'an 30:60). They have no benefit for you in the presence of God. Therefore, do not rush, because God never rushes because of His slaves' haste! *Therefore, do not advance the command of God* (Qur'an 45:19); do not try to overrule His command. Otherwise you will be afflicted. Then you will collapse and perish!

قَالَ: فَغَضِبَ زَيدٌ عِندَ ذَلِكَ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: لَيسَ الإمَامُ مِنَّا مَن جَلَسَ بَيتَهُ، وَأرخَى سِترَهُ، وَثَبَّطَ عَنِ
الجِهادِ، وَلَكِنَّ الإمَامَ مِنَّا مَن مَنَعَ حَوزَتَهُ، وَجَاهَدَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللهِ حَقَّ جِهَادِهِ، وَدَفَعَ عَن رَعِيَّتِهِ، وَ
ذَبَّ عَن حَرِيمِه.

The hadith continues:

Zayd became annoyed at this statement of Imam Bāqir and said: "Our Imam cannot be from among those who sit at home, close their window curtain, and are afraid of going to *jihād* and avoid the others of *jihād*. In our view, the Imam is one who defends his own territory and struggles in the way of God in its best way. He solves the problems of his nation and gets rid of whatever is their enemy."

After giving his answer in detail, the Imam stated:

أعُوذُ بِاللهِ مِنْ إمَامٍ ضَلَّ عَنْ وَقْتِهِ، فَكَانَ التَّابِعُ فِيهِ أعْلَمَ مِنَ الْمَتْبُوعِ.

أتُرِيدُ يَا أخِي أنْ تُحْيِيَ مِلَّةَ قَوْمٍ قَدْ كَفَرُوا بِآيَاتِ اللهِ وَعَصَوْا رَسُولَهُ وَاتَّبَعُوا أهْوَاءَهُمْ بِغَيْرِ هُدًى مِنَ اللهِ، وَادَّعَوُا الْخِلَافَةَ بِلَا بُرْهَانٍ مِنَ اللهِ، وَلَا عَهْدٍ مِنْ رَسُولِهِ؟!

اُعِيذُكَ بِاللهِ يَا أخِي أنْ تَكُونَ غَداً الْمَصْلُوبَ بِالْكُنَاسَةِ، ثُمَّ ارْفَضَّتْ[234] عَيْنَاهُ وَسَالَتْ دُمُوعُهُ. ثُمَّ قَالَ: اللهُ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَ مَنْ هَتَكَ سِتْرَنَا، وَجَحَدَنَا حَقَّنَا، وَأفْشَى سِرَّنَا، وَنَسَبَنَا إلَى غَيْرِ جَدِّنَا، وَقَالَ فِينَا مَا لَمْ نَقُلْهُ فِي أنْفُسِنَا.[235]

I take refuge in God because of a leader who does not know the right time [to rise up]; then [as a result of this mistake] his followers would be more learned than he!

O my brother! Do you have in mind to revive a people who did not believe in God and rejected the verses of Qur'an, and have disobeyed His Prophet; those who have followed their passions while having no divine guidance?! Those who, without having any proof or permission from God, have claimed the caliphate! [They have gone beyond their limit even] without the agreement of the Messenger of God!

O my brother! I take refuge in God from the time when you may be hanged on a dung-hill in Kūfa!

At this moment the Imam cried, and tears were running from his eyes. He rested for a while and then continued: "May God be the judge between us and those who denied our right, those who reveal our secrets, and relate to us words other than those of our grandfather. They say such untrue things about us that we are shocked by their lies!"

Moreover, Kulaynī has explained the letter of Yaḥyā Ibn Abdullah Maḥḍ to Imam Mūsā Ibn Ja'far. This person was at the event of Fakhkh and then fled to Daylam. In Daylam, he established a government and finally was killed in the prison of Hārūn al-Rashīd. In this letter Yaḥyā says:

أمَّا بَعْدُ: فَإنِّي اُوصِي نَفْسِي بِتَقْوَى اللهِ وَبِهَا اُوصِيكَ؛ فَإنَّهَا وَصِيَّةُ اللهِ فِي الأوَّلِينَ وَوَصِيَّتُهُ فِي الآخِرِينَ.

خَبَّرَنِي مَنْ وَرَدَ عَلَيَّ مِنْ أعْوَانِ اللهِ عَلَى دِينِهِ وَنَشْرِ طَاعَتِهِ بِمَا كَانَ مِنْ تَحَنُّنِكَ مَعَ خِذْلَانِكَ؛ وَقَدْ شَاوَرْتُ فِي الدَّعْوَةِ لِلرِّضَا مِنْ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم وَقَدِ احْتَجَبْتَهَا وَاحْتَجَبَهَا أبُوكَ مِنْ

قَبلَكَ؛ وَقَديماً ادَّعَيتُمْ ما لَيسَ لَكُمْ، وَبَسَطتُمْ آمالَكُمْ إلى ما لَمْ يُعطِكُمُ اللهُ فَاستَهوَيتُمْ وَأَضلَلتُمْ، وَ أنا مُحَذِّرُكَ ما حَذَّرَكَ اللهُ مِن نَفسِهِ؛

> After all, I advise myself to be wary of God, so do I advise you [to be wary of God!], as this is the advice of God to our predecessors and to our successors!
>
> I was informed by one of the devotees of religion that you have expressed your sympathy and affection to us, while you have humiliated us by leaving us behind! I left the affair to the lineage of Muhammad, so that the Imam and Leader would be a person from among the lineage of the Prophet, but you did not accept it, nor did your father accept it! However, for a long time you claimed a position that you did not deserve. You always inflame your desires and look for something that God has not destined for you.
>
> Therefore, you ruined the wishes and thoughts of the people, and in this way, you misled them!
>
> So I deprive you of what God has deprived you!

In response, Imam Mūsā Kāzim wrote a sufficient letter, part of which is as follows:

وَلَمْ يَدَعْ حِرصُ الدُّنيا وَمَطالِبِها لِأهلِها مَطلَباً لِآخِرَتِهِمْ حَتّى يُفسِدَ عَلَيهِمْ مَطلَبَ آخِرَتِهِمْ في دُنياهُمْ.

"The strong desire for the world and the affairs of the world has left nothing for the people to take with them to their Hereafter; it has ruined their Hereafter because of this world!"

This means that they have wasted the spirituality and their good deeds that they will need in the day of the Hereafter! In the name of religion, they have carried the flag of the religion; however, their ambitions were to get something in this world such as the wealth, posts and high positions, or leadership!

The Imam continues:

إنّا قَد أُوحِيَ إلَينا أنَّ العَذابَ عَلى مَن كَذَّبَ وَتَوَلّى.[236]

"Surely it has been given to us as an inspiration that the torture falls upon those who reject [the truth] and turn away [from the truth]!"

Māmqānī has said about Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn:

> Shadīd, in his book *al-Qawā'id* in the section on "enjoining the good and forbidding evil," has made clear that Zayd's uprising was with the permission of the Imam. And among his statements is

إِنَّهُ لَمْ يَكْرَهْ قَوْمٌ قَطُّ حَرَّ السُّيُوفِ إِلَّا ذَلُّوا

"A people will never understand the heat of swords [to be] unpleasant until they become abased."

When this "saying" reached Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, he said:

أَلَسْتُمْ تَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّ أَهْلَ هَذَا الْبَيْتِ قَدْ بَادُوا؟! وَ لَعَمْرِي مَا انْقَرَضُوا مَنْ مِثْلُ هَذَا خَلَفُهُمْ.

"Did you not imagine that the people of this family had perished?! I swear by my soul that they were not overthrown because of having such a man support them."

It is narrated from Kashshī with his chains that Imam Bāqir stated:

هَذَا سَيِّدُ أَهْلِ بَيْتِي وَ الطَّالِبُ بِأَوْتَارِهِم

"This is the Master of my Household, and so is he the avenger of the bloodshed of those of us who were killed!"

Moreover, Shadīd has narrated from Kashshī in Ḥimyarī's biography of Fuḍayl Rassān that he said:

دَخَلْتُ عَلَى أَبِي عَبْدِ اللهِ عليه السلام بَعْدَ مَا قُتِلَ زَيْدُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام فَأُدْخِلْتُ بَيْتاً جَوْفَ بَيْتٍ.

فَقَالَ لِي: يَا فُضَيْلُ! قُتِلَ عَمِّي زَيْدٌ؟! قُلْتُ: نَعَمْ جُعِلْتُ فِدَاكَ!

قَالَ: رَحِمَهُ اللهُ، أَمَا إِنَّهُ كَانَ مُؤْمِناً وَ كَانَ عَارِفاً وَ كَانَ عَالِماً وَ كَانَ صَدُوقاً. أَمَا إِنَّهُ لَوْ ظَهَرَ لَوَفَى. أَمَا إِنَّهُ لَوْ مَلَكَ لَعَرَفَ كَيْفَ يَضَعُهَا؟!

> After Zayd Ibn Ali was killed, I went to Imam Ṣādiq. I entered a room that was within another big room.
>
> The Imam asked me: "O Fuḍayl! Was my uncle Zayd killed?" I answered: "Yes, he was, may I be made sacrifice to you!" The Imam stated: "May God have mercy upon him! You should know that he was a pious, sagacious, scholar and a rightful person. Know that if he had had victory over the enemy, he would have fulfilled his promise to the Imamate. Know that if he had become ruler, he would have known how to organize the government!"

Imam Riḍā's View on Zayd Ibn Mūsā's Uprising

Shaykh Ṣadūq, in *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, has narrated from Muhammad Ibn Barīd Naḥwī, from Abi 'Abdūn, from his father, that has said:

> They arrested Zayd Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ja'far and brought him to Ma'mūn after he had rebelled in Baṣra. He had set the houses of Banī Abbās on fire, but Ma'mūn had forgiven his crimes because of Imam Riḍā. Ma'mūn told the Imam: "O 'Aba al-Hasan! Your brother has rebelled, and has behaved wrongfully, like Zayd Ibn Ali, who had also rebelled prior to him, but I killed Zayd and I did not kill your brother. Now if it were not for you, I would also kill him, because what he has done was not a small thing."

Imam Riḍā told him:

> O Ma'mūn! Do not compare my brother, Zayd, with Zayd Ibn Ali. Zayd Ibn Ali was a learned man, and his opposition against the government was for the sake of God. He fought the enemies of God and then was killed for the sake of God. My father, Mūsā Ibn Ja'far, narrated to me that he had heard from his father, Ja'far Ibn Muhammad:

رَحِمَ اللهُ عَمِّي زَيْداً، إِنَّهُ دَعَى إِلَى الرِّضَا مِنْ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ، وَلَوْ ظَهَرَ لَوَفَى بِمَا دَعَى إِلَيْهِ. وَلَقَدِ اسْتَشَارَنِي فِي خُرُوجِهِ، فَقُلْتُ: يَا عَمِّ! إِنْ رَضِيتَ أَنْ تَكُونَ الْمَقْتُولَ الْمَصْلُوبَ بِالْكُنَاسَةِ فَشَأْنَكَ!

فَلَمَّا وَلَّى، قَالَ جَعْفَرُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ عليهما السّلام: وَيْلٌ لِمَنْ سَمِعَ وَاعِيَتَهُ فَلَمْ يُجِبْهُ!

> May God have mercy upon my uncle, Zayd. He used to invite people to Riḍā from the Household of Muhammad, and if he had gained a victory, surely he would be loyal to him to whom he had invited people. He consulted with me about his uprising. I told him "O dear uncle of mine! If you would like to be killed, or to be hanged on a dung-hill in Kūfa, then it is up to you!" When Zayd turned away and left, Imam Ṣādiq said: "Woe upon those who hear his invitation, but do not support him!"

Ma'mūn said:

يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ! أَلَيْسَ قَدْ جَاءَ فِيمَنِ ادَّعَى الإِمَامَةَ بِغَيْرِ حَقِّهَا مَا جَاءَ.

"O Abu al-Hasan! Is it not explained [in hadiths] about one who has claimed the Imamate falsely?"

Imam Riḍā stated:

إنَّ زَيدَبنَ عَلِيٍّ لَمْ يَدَّعِ مَالَيسَ لَهُ بِحَقٍّ: وَإنَّهُ كَانَ أَتقَى اللهَ مِنْ ذَاكَ.
إنَّهُ قَالَ: أدعُوكُمْ إلَى الرِّضَا مِنْ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم. وَإنَّمَا جَاءَ مَا جَاءَ فِيمَنْ
يَدَّعِي: أنَّ اللهَ نَصَّ عَلَيهِ، ثُمَّ يَدعُو إلَى غَيرِ دِينِ اللهِ وَيُضِلُّ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ بِغَيرِ عِلْمٍ.
وَكَانَ زَيدُبنُ عَلِيٍّ وَاللهِ مِمَّنْ خُوطِبَ بِهَذِهِ الآيَةِ: وَجَاهِدُوا فِي اللهِ حَقَّ جِهَادِهِ هُوَ اجْتَبَاكُم.

Zayd Ibn Ali did not claim anything that was not his right to receive. In his uprising, he was wary of God. Zayd said:

> I am inviting you to Riḍā from the lineage of Muhammad, may God bless him and his Descendant. And what is narrated in hadiths is about those who claim that they are Imams and appointed directly by God. In this case, they deceive and mislead. By God, Zayd Ibn Ali was none of those people, and this verse is related to him:
>
> وَجَاهِدُوا فِي اللهِ حَقَّ جِهَادِهِ، هُوَ اجْتَبَاكُم
>
> *And fight in the way of God as it is His due, He has chosen you [for Himself]* (22:78).

According to *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, Zayd Ibn Ali rebelled on Wednesday, the first day of Ṣafar, and after two days, he was killed on Friday, in the year 121 AH.

Imam Ṣādiq's Weeping upon the Martyrdom of Zayd Ibn Ali

In *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, through the chains of Fuḍayl Ibn Yasār,[237] it is narrated:

> On the same morning that Zayd Ibn Ali rebelled in Kūfa, I got close to him and heard him saying:
>
> مَنْ يُعِينُنِي مِنْكُمْ عَلَى قِتَالِ أنبَاطِ أهْلِ الشَّامِ؟! فَوَالَّذِي بَعَثَ مُحَمَّداً صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم بِالحَقِّ بَشِيراً وَنَذِيراً لا يُعِينُنِي عَلَى قِتَالِهِمْ مِنْكُمْ أحَدٌ إلَّا أخَذْتُ بِيَدِهِ يَوْمَ القِيمَةِ فَأدْخَلْتُهُ الجَنَّةَ بِإذنِ اللهِ تَعَالَى.
>
> Who is among you to help me to kill these mean people of Shām? I swear by Him Who assigned Muhammad, may God bless him and

> his Descendant, truly to give people glad tidings and warn them [to be wary of God], that there is no one among you to help me except him whose hand I will hold on the Day of Resurrection, and by God's permission, will take to heaven!

When Zayd was killed, I hired an animal and traveled to Medina. In that city, I went to meet Abu Abdullah Imam Ṣādiq. Prior to meeting the Imam, to avoid making him mourn, it was in my mind not to inform him of the event of Zayd.

But as soon as I arrived in Medina, the Imam asked me: "What did my uncle Zayd do?"

Then I could not stop crying, and he said: "Did they kill him?"

I said:

إى وَاللهِ قَتَلُوه

"Yes, I swear by God that they killed him!"

He asked: "Did they hang him?" I answered: "Yes, I swear by God that they hanged him!"

فَأقْبَلَ يَبْكِي وَدُمُوعُهُ تَنْحَدِرُ عَلَى دِيبَاجَتَيْ خَدِّهِ كَأنَّهَا الْجُمَان.

The Imam started crying, and tears like pearls kept running down from his eyes.

Then he said: "O Fuḍayl! Did you accompany my uncle Zayd in the war with the people of Shām?"

I answered: "Yes, I did."

Then he asked: "How many of them did you kill?" I answered: "Six men!"

He said:

فَلَعَلَّكَ شَاكٌّ فِي دِمَائِهِمْ؟

"So were you in doubt about shedding their blood?" I answered:

لَوْ كُنْتُ شَاكّاً فِي دِمَائِهِمْ مَا قَتَلْتُهُمْ

"If I had been in doubt about shedding their blood, I would not have killed them!"

Fuḍayl continues:

> I heard the Imam say:

أشرَكَنِي اللهُ فِي تِلكَ الدِّمَاءِ. مَضَى عَمِّي زَيدٌ وَأصحَابُهُ شُهَدَاءَ مِثلَ مَا مَضَى عَلَيهِ عَلِيُّ ابنُ أبِي طَالِبٍ عليه السّلام وَأصحَابُه.

"May God share with me the reward of this war?! My uncle and his companions were martyred as Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib and his companions were martyred [in the path of God]!"[238]

The Biography of Zayd Ibn Ali

Along with large amounts of information on Zayd in hadiths, there is a hadith that says:

When the Shi'a headed to Zayd and swore allegiance to him, he rebelled against the government in the year 121. When the flags and banners were raised among his fighters and supporters, he said:

الحَمدُ لِلهِ الَّذِي أكمَلَ لِي دِينَهُ. إنِّي كُنتُ أستَحيِي مِن رَسُولِ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم أن أرِدَ عَلَيهِ الحَوضَ غَداً وَلَم آمُر فِي اُمَّتِهِ بِمَعرُوفٍ وَلَا أنهَى عَن مُنكَر.

"All praise belongs to God Who completed His religion for me. I was feeling ashamed before the Messenger of God, may God's blessing be upon him and his Household, that the next day I would go to him by the Pond (the Kawthar River in Paradise) when I have not done enjoining the good and forbidding evil for his nation!"

And in the hadith of 'Omayr Ibn Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn Bajalī, from his father, it has been narrated that he met Yaḥyā after his father's death. Zayd and Yaḥyā told him:

سَمِعتُ أبِي يُحَدِّثُ عَن أبِيهِ، عَنِ الحُسَينِ بنِ عَلِيٍّ عليهما السّلام، قَالَ: وَضَعَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلّم يَدَهُ عَلَى صُلبِي فَقَالَ: يَا حُسَينُ، يَخرُجُ مِن صُلبِكَ رَجُلٌ يُقَالُ لَهُ زَيدٌ يُقتَلُ شَهِيداً، فَإذَا كَانَ يَومُ القِيمَةِ يَتَخَطَّى هُوَ وَأصحَابُهُ رِقَابَ النَّاسِ وَيَدخُلُ الجَنَّةَ؛ فَأحبَبتُ أن أكُونَ كَمَا وَصَفَنِي رَسُولُ الله صلى الله عليه و آله وسلّم.

قَالَ: رَحِمَ اللهُ أبِي زَيداً، كَانَ وَاللهِ أحَدَ المُتَعَبِّدِينَ، قَائِمٌ لَيلُهُ، صَائِمٌ نَهَارُهُ، مُجَاهِدٌ فِي سَبِيلِ اللهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ حَقَّ جِهَادِهِ.

فَقُلتُ: يَا ابنَ رَسُولِ اللهِ؛ هَكَذَا يَكُونُ الإمَامُ بِهَذِهِ الصِّفَةِ؟!

فَقَالَ: يَا عَبدَ اللهِ؛ إنَّ أبِي لَم يَكُن بِإمَامٍ وَلَكِن مِنَ السَّادَةِ الكِرَامِ وَزُهَّادِهِم، وَكَانَ مِنَ المُجَاهِدِينَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللهِ.

قُلتُ: يابْنَ رَسُولِ اللهِ! إنَّ أباكَ قَدِ ادَّعَى الإمَامَةَ وَ خَرَجَ مُجاهِداً وَ قَدْ جاءَ عَنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم فِيمَنِ ادَّعَى الإمَامَةَ كاذِباً!

فَقَالَ: مَهْ يا عَبْدَ اللهِ! إنَّ أبِي كَانَ أعْقَلَ مِنْ أن يَدَّعِيَ مَا لَيْسَ لَهُ بِحَقٍّ. وَ إنَّما قَالَ: أدْعُوكُمْ إلَى الرِّضَا مِنْ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ. عَنَى بِذَلِكَ عَمِّي جَعْفَراً.

قُلتُ: فَهُوَ الْيَوْمَ صَاحِبُ الأمْرِ؟!

قَالَ: نَعَمْ هُوَ أفْقَهُ بَنِي هَاشِمٍ. ثُمَّ قَالَ: يا عَبْدَ اللهِ! إنِّي اُخْبِرُكَ عَنْ أبِي ـ إلَى آخِرِ مَا نَقَلَهُ مِنْ زُهْدِ أبِيهِ وَ عِبَادَتِهِ.

I heard from my father, narrating from his father, from Husayn Ibn Ali, saying that the Messenger of God, may God's blessing be upon him and his Household, laid his hand on his back and then said: "O Husayn! You will have a son named Zayd, and he will be martyred. Then on the Day of Resurrection, he and his companions will be carried on the shoulders of the people into Paradise." So now I want to be the person that the Prophet described and predicted!

Yaḥyā said: "May God have mercy upon my father, Zayd. By God he was one of the most pious men. He passed his night praying and his days fasting. He struggled in the path of God, and he deserved to be in His path!"

I said: "O son of the Messenger of God! It is true, and an Imam must have such attributes."

Yaḥyā said: "My father was not an Imam, but he was a respectable Sayyid, and he was most pious and a struggler in the path of God."

I said: "O son of the Messenger of God! Your father claimed the Imamate, and he rose up for this claim, while the Prophet has clearly said that whoever [except the twelve Imams] claimed to be the Imam is wrong!"

Yaḥyā said: "O slave of God, keep quiet! My father was wise enough not to claim the position, which was not his right. My father invited the people to Riḍā from the Household of Muhammad. By Riḍā, he meant my uncle, Ja'far Ṣādiq."

I said: "So today Ja'far Ṣādiq is the authorized leader!"

He answered: "Yes, he is the most knowledgeable man in Banī Hāshim." He then added: "Now I am going to give you more information about

my father..." He then continued narrating some stories about his father's life and his piety and supplications.

Having addressed some hadiths about the martyrdom of Zayd from *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, we now explain the rituals in the month of Muḥarram from Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs in his *Iqbāl*. In this book, he tells us about the sons of Imam Hasan on the Day of 'Āshūrā and how they were devoted to Imam Husayn on that day. Ibn Ṭāwūs then concludes that this people have definitely accepted the Imamate of Imam Ṣādiq as well.

Ibn Ṭāwūs first narrated a hadith through different chains in which Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq had written to Banī al-Hasan and asked them to go from Medina to Rabadhah and Kūfa. In the letter, the Imam says:

بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ. إِلَى الْخَلَفِ الصَّالِحِ وَ الذُّرِّيَّةِ الطَّيِّبَةِ مِنْ وُلْدِ أَخِيهِ وَ ابْنِ عَمِّهِ.
أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَلَئِنْ كُنْتَ تَفَرَّدْتَ أَنْتَ وَ أَهْلُ بَيْتِكَ مِمَّنْ حُمِلَ مَعَكَ بِمَا أَصَابَكُمْ، مَا انْفَرَدْتَ بِالْحُزْنِ وَ الْغِبْطَةِ وَ
الْكَآبَةِ وَ أَلِيمِ وَجَعِ الْقَلْبِ دُونِي، فَلَقَدْ نَالَنِي مِنْ ذَلِكَ مِنَ الْجَزَعِ وَ الْقَلَقِ وَ حَرِّ الْمُصِيبَةِ مِثْلُ مَا نَالَكَ،
وَ لَكِنْ رَجَعْتُ إِلَى مَا أَمَرَ اللهُ جَلَّ جَلَالُهُ بِهِ الْمُتَّقِينَ مِنَ الصَّبْرِ وَ حُسْنِ الْعَزَاءِ حِينَ يَقُولُ لِنَبِيِّهِ
صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم: فَاصْبِرْ لِحُكْمِ رَبِّكَ فَإِنَّكَ بِأَعْيُنِنَا.

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful.

To the rightful successor and the pure linage from the sons of his brother and his cousin.

And then, [know that] if you and your household—from among those who are taken away with you—[feel] you were alone in bearing the tragedy you encountered, [I inform you that] you were not alone in tolerating the agony, worrying, crying, and pain! You were not really alone to face so much pain. Certainly, whatever hardship you have faced, I have also faced the same. However, I take refuge in God from what God has destined for the pious people. That is to be patient and behave kindly.

In this respect, God has said to his Prophet: "Be patient against the command of God, because you are just in My eyes—*so (O Prophet,) remain patient to the judgement of your Lord—for indeed you are under Our Eyes* (52:48)."

Including the above-mentioned verse, Imam Ṣādiq mentions fourteen verses on the virtue of patience, and then the Imam continues:

وَاعلَمْ أي عَمِّ وَابنَ عَمِّ: أنَّ اللهَ جَلَّ جَلالُهُ لَمْ يُبالِ بِضُرِّ الدُّنيا لِوَلِيِّهِ ساعَةً قَطُّ وَلا شَيْءَ أحَبُّ إلَيهِ مِنَ الضُّرِّ وَالجُهدِ وَالأذاءِ مَعَ الصَّبرِ. وَأنَّهُ تَبارَكَ وَتَعالَى لَمْ يُبالِ بِنَعِيمِ الدُّنيا لِعَدُوِّهِ ساعَةً قَطُّ.

وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ مَا كَانَ أعدَاؤُهُ يَقتُلُونَ أولِيَاءَهُ وَيُخِيفُونَهُم [1] وَيَمنَعُونَهُم، وَأعدَاؤُهُ آمِنُونَ مُطمَئِنُّونَ عَالُونَ ظَاهِرُونَ.

وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ مَا قُتِلَ زَكَرِيَّا وَاحتُجِبَ يَحيَى ظُلماً وَعُدوَاناً فِي بَغِيٍّ مِنَ البَغَايَا.

وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ مَا قُتِلَ جَدُّكَ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبِي طَالِبٍ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم لَمَّا قَامَ بِأمرِ اللهِ جَلَّ وَعَزَّ ظُلماً، وَعَمُّكَ الحُسَينُ بنُ فَاطِمَةَ صلّى الله عليهما اضطِهَاداً وَعُدوَاناً.

وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ مَا قَالَ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ فِي كِتَابِهِ: وَلَوْلَا أن يَكُونَ النَّاسُ امَّةً وَاحِدَةً لَجَعَلنَا لِمَن يَكفُرُ بِالرَّحمَنِ لِبُيُوتِهِم سُقُفاً مِن فِضَّةٍ وَمَعَارِجَ عَلَيهَا يَظهَرُونَ. (43:33)

وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ لَمَا قَالَ فِي كِتَابِهِ: أيَحسَبُونَ أنَّمَا نُمِدُّهُم بِهِ مِن مَالٍ وَبَنِينَ، نُسَارِعُ لَهُم فِي الخَيرَاتِ بَل لَا يَشعُرُونَ. (23:55–56)

وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ لَمَا جَاءَ فِي الحَدِيثِ: لَوْلَا أن يَحزَنَ المُؤمِنُ لَجَعَلتُ لِلكَافِرِ عِصَابَةً مِن حَدِيدٍ لَا يُصَدَّعُ رَأسُهُ أبَداً.

وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ لَمَا جَاءَ فِي الحَدِيثِ: إنَّ الدُّنيَا لَا تُسَاوِي عِندَ اللهِ جَنَاحَ بَعُوضَةٍ.

وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ مَا سَقَى كَافِراً مِنهَا شَربَةً مِن مَاءٍ.

وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ لَمَا جَاءَ فِي الحَدِيثِ: لَوْ أنَّ مُؤمِناً عَلَى قُلَّةِ جَبَلٍ لَانبَعَثَ اللهُ لَهُ كَافِراً أو مُنَافِقاً يُؤذِيهِ.

وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ لَمَا جَاءَ فِي الحَدِيثِ: إنَّهُ إذَا أحَبَّ اللهُ قَوماً أو أحَبَّ عَبداً صَبَّ عَلَيهِ البَلَاءَ صَبّاً، فَلَا يَخرُجُ مِن غَمٍّ إلَّا وَقَعَ فِي غَمٍّ.

وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ لَمَا جَاءَ فِي الحَدِيثِ: مَا مِن جُرعَتَينِ أحَبَّ إلَى اللهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ أن يَجرَعَهُمَا عَبدُهُ المُؤمِنُ فِي الدُّنيَا مِن جُرعَةِ كَظمِ غَيظٍ، وَجُرعَةِ حُزنٍ عِندَ مُصِيبَةٍ صَبَرَ عَلَيهَا بِحُسنِ عَزَاءٍ وَاحتِسَابٍ.

وَلَوْلَا ذَلِكَ لَمَا كَانَ أصحَابُ رَسُولِ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم يَدعُونَ عَلَى مَن ظَلَمَهُم بِطُولِ العُمرِ وَصِحَّةِ البَدَنِ وَكَثرَةِ المَالِ وَالوَلَدِ.

وَلَولا ذلِكَ مَا بَلَغَنا أنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله و سلّم كانَ إذا خَصَّ رَجُلاً بِالتَّرَحُّمِ عَلَيْهِ وَ الاسْتِغْفارِ اسْتُشْهِدَ.

فَعَلَيْكُمْ يا عَمِّ وَ ابْنَ عَمِّ وَ بَني عُمُومَتي وَ إخْوَتي بِالصَّبْرِ وَ الرِّضا وَ التَّسْليمِ وَ التَّفْويضِ إلَى اللهِ جَلَّ وَ عَزَّ وَ الرِّضا وَ الصَّبْرِ عَلى قَضائِهِ وَ التَّمَسُّكِ بِطاعَتِهِ وَ النُّزُولِ عِنْدَ أمْرِهِ!

أفْرَغَ اللهُ عَلَيْنا وَ عَلَيْكُمُ الصَّبْرَ، وَ خَتَمَ لَنا وَ لَكُمْ بِالأجْرِ وَ السَّعادَةِ، وَ أنْقَذَكُمْ وَ إيّانا مِنْ كُلِّ هَلَكَةٍ بِحَوْلِهِ وَ قُوَّتِهِ إنَّهُ سَميعٌ قَريبٌ، وَ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلى صَفْوَتِهِ مِنْ خَلْقِهِ مُحَمَّدٍ النَّبِيِّ وَ أهْلِ بَيْتِهِ.[239]

O my uncle and my cousin, let it be known that God, glory to Him, never cares about the worldly difficulties and hardships of His friends and guardians—not even for a single minute! Nothing is more favored by Him than their suffering and hardship, if they remain patient in that situation. On the other hand, God, the Almighty, never cares about the material comfort of His enemies—even for a moment!

If it was not so, His enemies could never kill His friends, or bother them, but they oppress them and take away all their rights in life. And then His enemies have easy and luxurious lives, sitting up high and looking down on those dying of hunger!

If it was not so, Zachariah would not have been murdered, and Yaḥyā would not have been rejected by an adulterous woman who gave birth to such cruel persons [who killed them]!

And if it was not so, your grandfather, Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, would not have been murdered when he rose up with the command of God, glory to Him in the highest! And your uncle Husayn, the son of Fatimah, may God's blessing be upon those two, would not have been killed by ignorant enemies!

If it was not so, God, glory be to Him, would not have stated in His Book:

> If it wasn't that all people should be a single nation [all people have faith in God], then We would set up for disbelievers silver roofs in their houses, and would make silver lathers for them to climb high into the sky [i.e., God could do this to disbelievers, but He did not, because He did not like to encourage the people to be disbelievers, as He destined the faith for all people in a single nation].

If it was not so, God would not have stated in His Book: "Do they (the pagans, the disbelievers, and the hypocrites) believe that the properties and children We have given them are in fact handouts from Us to them? In that case, they have no sense to understand this!"

If it was not so, it would not be in the hadith of the Prophet saying: "If a Muslim would not be sad and sorrowful, I would make a turban for the disbeliever out of steel to wrap it round his head and not to get a headache!"

And if it was not so, there would not be in the hadith of the Prophet: "Certainly for the sake of God, this world is not worth as much as a wing of a gnat!"

And if it was not so, God would not give to the disbeliever even a cup of water in this world!

And if it was not so, there would not be in the hadith of the Prophet: "If a believer [runs away from people and] lives on the top of a mountain, God will appoint a disbeliever or hypocrite to annoy him there!"

And if it was not so, there would not be in the hadith of the Prophet: "When God likes a tribe or a believing man, He showers so much calamity upon him that he cannot get relief from grief without being afflicted with another grief!"

And if it was not so, the Prophet would not say in a hadith: "There are no moral properties with God better than two things: quenching the irritation when a man is very angry, and being patient when a man is undergoing severe grief."

And if it was not so, the Companions of the Prophet would not pray for their enemies and oppressors, requesting from God: "O Lord, bestow upon them long and healthy lives and increase their properties and wealth!"

If it was not so, we would not have come to know that when the Prophet was compassionate to someone, and prayed for him, he would request from God the rank of a martyrdom for him!

Therefore, O my brothers, my uncles, and my cousins, I advise you to be content with what comes from your Lord to you, and to be patient and obey God, glory to Him in the highest, and to submit in whatever comes from Him to you.

Let us hope God bestows on you and us the station of patience, and gives us happiness and a blissful ending, and with His Might and Power saves us from any devastation! Indeed, He is the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing! And He is close to us. And may God's peace and blessing be upon His chosen Messenger, Muhammad, and his Household.

Ibn Ṭāwūs's View on the Above-Mentioned Hadith from Imam Ṣādiq Concerning the Condition of Banī al-Hasan

Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs has added: "The original copy of this condolence letter was written by Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Mahjanāb Bazzāz, in the month of Ṣafar, 448 AH. In that letter, he called Abdullah Ibn Hasan 'Abd Ṣāliḥ. This shows that Imam Ṣādiq had strong sympathy for all Banī al-Hasan who were imprisoned in Kūfa."

He also stated: "What has been said in some source about their approach to Imam Ṣādiq might be for dissimulation, as they did not want to put the Imam in danger because of their political movements."

Khallād Ibn 'Omayr Kindī (Mawlā Āl Ḥujr Ibn 'Adī) offers evidence for this assertion when he says:

> I went to Abi Abdullah's home, and he asked me: "Do you know anything about the Household of Hasan, those who have been taken away from here?" Of course we were always receiving information about them.

Khallād said:

> We didn't want to be the first to give him bad news, so we just said:
>
> نَرْجُوا أَنْ يُعَافِيَهُمُ اللهُ
>
> "We hope God may bless them with safety!"
>
> The Imam said:
>
> وَأَيْنَ هُمْ مِنَ الْعَافِيَةِ؟
>
> "But where can they receive that blessing from? They are too far away to receive blessing!"
>
> He then wept and cried very loudly. We too cried with him.

He then said:

> My father related to me from Fatimah, the daughter of Imam Husayn, saying that:
>
>> My father, may God's blessing be upon him, used to say:

يُقتَلُ مِنكِ أو يُصابُ مِنكِ نَفَرٌ بِشَطِّ الفُراتِ ما سَبَقَهُمُ الأوَّلونَ، ولا يُدرِكُهُمُ الآخِرونَ، وإنَّهُ لَم يَبقَ مِن وُلدِها غَيرُهُم.

"Some people from among you will be killed or tortured near the Euphrates River; the predecessor could not advance them, and their successors will never reach them [in honor]. And now from the offspring of Fatimah, the daughter of Husayn, no one is alive except them!"

Concluding Remarks on the Uprisers against Banī Fatimah

Abu al-Faraj Isfahani, from Yaḥyā Ibn Abdullah Ibn Hasan, who was among those who were imprisoned by Banī al-Hasan, has narrated:

> Abdullah Ibn Fatimah related to us from his father and grandfather that Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet, told him:
>
> يُدفَنُ مِن وُلدي سَبعَةٌ بِشَطِّ الفُراتِ لَم يَسبِقهُمُ الأوَّلونَ ولَم يُدرِكهُمُ الآخِرونَ.
>
> "Among my children, seven will be buried by the River of Euphrates. They have not been overtaken by their predecessors, and their successors will not reach them!"

Yaḥyā, who is the son of the narrator, Abdullah Maḥḍ, says:

> When Abdullah read this poem, I told him: "Now we are eight in prison altogether."
>
> Abdullah said: "Yes, I have heard it is so!"
>
> When they opened the gate of the prison, they found that all had died! And then the guards approached me, while I had the last breath of life in me. Therefore, they gave me some water, and then released me.

Ibn Ṭāwūs has narrated a few hadiths showing that Banī al-Hasan did not claim any messianic mission for Muhammad Nafs Zakiyyah; rather, they believed that he had rebelled against the government with the aim of enjoining the good and forbidding evil.[240]

Here, I would like to comment on the aforementioned issue and say that the discussion on the uprisers of 'Alawīyyin can be divided into the following groups:

First: the prisoners of Manṣūr from Banī al-Hasan like Abdullah Maḥḍ, Ibrahim Ghamr, Hasan Muthallath, and some others.

Second: Muhammad and Ibrahim: two sons of Abdullah Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan.

Third: Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Hasan Muthallath.

Fourth: Zayd Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ja'far, Imam Riḍā's brother.

Fifth: Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn, the martyr who was hanged in Kūfa.

With regard to the sons of Hasan al-Muthannā, we must say that Abdullah, Ibrahim, and Hasan Muthallath, and the sons of Hasan and the other who were imprisoned by Manṣūr Dawāniqī: the Imam used to praise them, and we have not heard anything from the Imam to blame them. For example, Imam Ṣādiq's complaint about the Anṣār of Medina who did not support Banī al-Hasan while they had sworn allegiance to the Prophet to protect his offspring, and the Imam's mourning when they were martyred[241]—these are evidence that the Imam had sympathy for them. These reactions may also prove that they had not done anything without the permission of the Imam.

This does not mean that all of them were the followers of Imam Ṣādiq and obeyed him. They were imprisoned because they were defending innocent people, standing against the oppressors, fulfilling the duty of enjoining the good and forbidding evil. They were efficient, obedient, and faithful, with a high reputation among the people.[242]

However, about Muhammad, nicknamed Nafs al-Zakiyyah, it is clear that he showed some hostility against Imam Ṣādiq. With the support of Īsā Ibn Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn, he imprisoned Ismā'īl Ibn Abdullah Ibn Ja'far and finally killed him simply because of not swearing allegiance to him. On this case, Imam Ṣādiq said:

إِنَّهُ الاحوَلُ الاكشفُ الاخضَرُ المَقتولُ بِسُدَّةِ أشجَعَ عِندَ بَطنِ مَسِيلِها

"He was indeed a squint-eyed man with an apparent green verdant spot on it who was killed by a river in Sugat Ashhja'."

This tone of language shows that the Imam was not happy with this man. According to historical sources, he was finally defeated and left nothing except blood-shedding among the Muslims, because of an illusion, as they thought that they were promised the Mahdi.

Nafs al-Zakiyyah's brother, Ibrahim, also rebelled on account of the bloodshed of Imam Husayn and fought against the government. After his brother's death, he obviously could not claim the title of the promised Mahdi.

Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs claims that the Imam approved their uprising, and that they did not relate their uprising to the Imam out of dissimulation, but this assertion is not consistent with other hadiths, and there is no witness to prove it.

According to historical evidence, the main reason for their rebellion against the government of Banī Abbās was their father, Abdullah, who always encouraged them to do it.

It should be noted that the hadiths that says "Among my children, seven will be buried by the River Euphrates. They have not been overtaken by their predecessors, and their successors will not reach them" is about Banī al-Hasan, not about Muhammad and Ibrahim.[243]

As for Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, we have to say that all the hadiths about him are in praise of him. He rebelled against oppression and has never claimed any political leadership. A person called Omarī (from among the grandchildren of Omar al-Kaṭṭāb) in Medina was too harsh with the 'Alawīyyīn. He went beyond due bounds by saying: "If anyone of the 'Alawīs does not register his name with the office of government, I will finally find and kill him!"

In that situation, the 'Alawīyyīn had fallen into such a horrible state that they had no choice but to rebel! So they set forth for Mecca, but on their way toward Mecca, the army of Mūsā Hādī Abbāsī (the grandsons of Manṣūr Dawāniqī) suddenly came across them and killed him and his companions. This happened at Fakh, between Tan'īm and a mile from Mecca, in 169 AH.

Nevertheless, concerning Zayd Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ja'far, we cite what Shaykh Abdullah Māmqānī has mentioned in *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*. He said: "With regard to Zayd Ibn Mūsā al-Kāzim, I was not aware of his condition until I read Kulaynī's hadith concerning the difference between 'right and wrong,' in the section on the Imamate in *al-Kāfī*, narrated from Mūsā Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Abdullah Ibn Ubaydullah Ibn Abbās Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, who had said: 'Ja'far Ibn Zayd Ibn Mūsā, from his father, and his grandfather, related it to me.'"

And this Zayd is the same Zayd al-Nār who rose up in Medina, burned the city, and murdered people, and then in 196 AH he moved to Baṣra. Abu al-Faraj says:

> Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Ismā'īl Ṭabāṭabā, the son of Ibrahim Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan, was with Abu al-Sarrā and died in Kūfa. He was the very Muhammad, the leader of the Zaydiyyah, who invited [people] to swear allegiance. After his death, the people chose Muhammad Ibn Zayd Ibn Ali as their leader, and Zaydiyyah also swore allegiance. He asked his followers to scatter among different towns and cities. He trusted the governor of Ahwāz to Zayd Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ja'far. When Zayd Ibn Mūsā passed through Baṣra, he realized that its governor was with Ali Ibn Ja'far Ibn Muhammad Abbāsī. Therefore, he burned the houses of the

people who were devoted to the Abbasid. After this event, he was called Zayd al-Nār [Zayd of fire].

Nevertheless, some historians have written a quite different story about Zayd. They have said:

As Abu al-Sarāyyā's affair succeeded in Kūfa, Zayd Ibn Mūsā moved to that city, and Abu al-Sarrāyā appointed him as the governor of Kūfa. However, when Abu al-Sarrāyyā's government collapsed, Zayd ran away and hid, but Hasan Ibn Sahl finally found him and put him in prison. Zayd was in the Baghdad prison until the rebellion of Ibrahim Mahdi, known as Ibn Shaklah. After his victory, he released Zayd from the jail.

Zayd went to Medina and severely burned the city and killed many people. He forced the people to swear allegiance to Muhammad Ibn Abu Ja'far Ibn Muhammad. Ma'mūn sent an army against him, and a war started between the army and Zayd's companions. Zayd was defeated and was captured and then taken to Ma'mūn.

Ma'mūn told him: "O Zayd! You rose up in Baṣra, but you failed to destroy and burn the house of your enemies like Banī Umayyad, Thaqīf, Ghanī, Bāhilah, and Āl al-Ziyād, but you turned to ruin the houses of your cousins' sons!"

Zayd, who was naturally a witty man, said: "O the Master of the Believers, I think I have made many mistakes in my uprising. If I rise up again, I will first burn the houses of our enemies!"

Ma'mūn laughed at what he said. Then he sent him to his brother, Imam Riḍā, saying: "I forgave his sin just because of you, so do punish him in the best way you can!"

When they took Zayd to Imam Riḍā, the Imam spoke to him in a rough way. The Imam freed Zayd, but swore that he would never speak to him again.

Shaykh Ṣadūq, in *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā,* has narrated many hadiths reporting that many people blamed Zayd and that he had no reputation among them. However, Shaykh Mufīd, in *Irshād,* says: "There are some virtues in the sons of Imam Abu al-Hasan Mūsā al-Kāzim; however, Imam Riḍā's virtues are at the highest level of them all."

Zayd was alive until the end of Mutawakkil's caliphate, and was the intimate friend of Caliph Muntaṣir. He had a witty and smiling-

face. Ṣadūq, in his '*Uyūn*, said: "Zayd Ibn Mūsā is the man who lived by the river of Karkhāyā. He rebelled against the government at the time of Abu al-Sarrāyā in Kūfa, and people in Kūfa handed over the government to him."

Māmqānī says:

> It is said that the people knew him as knowledgeable, but in my opinion, this was just because of his witty nature! Zayd Ibn Mūsā was famous for following Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn's creed—however, not because he followed all his religious beliefs, but rather because he just followed his political views. The people usually held him in disgrace because he burned the houses, killed many innocent people, and above all, was an intimate friend of the caliphs and had some sympathy for some of them! So according to hadiths, he is not a trustworthy man! On the whole, we should respect the lineage of the Imams, as they said:
>
> إنّا أهلُ بيتٍ لا يخرجُ أحدُنا من الدُّنيا حتّى يقرّ لكلّ ذي فضلٍ بفضله.
>
> "Certainly we are the Household; no one of us will leave this world unless virtuous men admit our merit."[244]

However, concerning the martyr Zayd Ibn Ali (the son of the fourth Imam),[245] we have to say that he had a very high reputation among the people, and there are many authorized hadiths in which the Imams have praised him. Second only to Imam Muhammad Bāqir, Zayd was the most honored man. He was the best and the most virtuous son of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn, and believed in the greatness and position of the Imamate for his brother and the son of his brother, i.e., Imam Ṣādiq. However, unlike the Imam, he did not have the persistence to tolerate the oppressions and annoyances, so he lost his patience and rebelled against the rule of Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who had humiliated Zayd in his meeting with him.

Imam Ṣādiq was preventing Zayd from rising up, not because the Imam was supporting the dictatorial government of Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, but rather because he did not like such a pious and brave man getting killed without achieving any fruitful result.

Zayd Ibn Ali's Position among Imami Scholars

Zayd is known as a pious and knowledgeable man of the Household of the Prophet. He was devoted to the *wilāyat* of the Imam, like Ismā'īl Ibn Ja'far and Muhammad Ali Ibn Ali al-Naqī. He was in fact a saint, but still did not reach the level of the infallible Imams.

Although Zayd was not at the level of the infallible Imams, he was a perfect man, who was always on the straight path. He was not an ordinary faithful Shi'a, so one cannot compare him with other companions of Imams.[246]

In fact, Imam Ṣādiq's negative comment on Zayd's uprising should not be considered an order to him to stop his rebellion; rather, it was advice to save his life, so Zayd's opposition to this advice was not contrary to the Imam's will. It would even increase his position because of Zayd's bravery and fearlessness of death.

This is the fact that we can imagine about Zayd, the martyred, may God's peace be upon him. Having explained Zayd's situation and his relation to the Imams, we may even accept the view, saying that his uprising was by an indirect command of Imam Ṣādiq. This view is similar to Māmqānī's view. Māmqānī, after explaining Zayd's biography in detail, says: "My conclusion about Zayd is that I believe that he was a trustworthy man, and all the hadiths he narrated are certainly authentic. It was rational to say that he was rightfully demanding the rights of the Imams at a time when nobody was claiming their legitimate rights."[247]

We said that Zayd is authentic in narrating the hadiths, because he was at such a high spiritual rank that we may place him near to the lofty position of the Imams. At this point, it would be good to also explain the spiritual rank of the infallible Imams in order to be able to be able to compare Zayd with them.

Ayatollah Āqā Mīrzā Abdullah Afandī Isfahani, who was one of 'Allāmah Majlisī's students, in his introduction to *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thālithah al-Sajjādiyyah* has said:

> I, the most humble servant of God, Abdullah Ibn Muhammad Ṣāliḥ Isfahani, say that there are many great transmitted supplications, and short entreaties from our Master Ali Ibn al-Husayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn—either in poems or prose, short or long, from among the supplications of the Prophet, Fatimah, and the other Imams—have been handed on in whispered prayers that without doubt are original.
>
> It is because God, glory to Him, has assigned each one of the Imams a specific reason and a certain purpose: for example, the knowledge of Imam Bāqir and Imam Ṣādiq's coming into view, the excessive power and courage of Imam Ali and Imam Husayn, and the supplications of Ali Ibn al-Husayn with such high spiritual and divine content. This assertion is also true in the case of Imam Ali's sermons, with such a high level of composition, literature, and fluency. One can see these specifications at their highest level in the supplications of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thālithah al-Sajjādiyyah*, which are known among our companions as the Psalm of the

> Household of Muhammad, and sometimes as the Bible of the Household. It is because of the stability of their meaning, the fairness of the chosen words and expressions, and the wonderful meaning of the supplications. Therefore, the high quality of these supplications provides us with enough evidence that all of them are from our Master Imam Sajjād.[248]

Ayatollah Amīn 'Āmulī, in the introduction to *Ṣaḥīfah al-Khāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah*, in contradiction to what we just addressed from *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, asserts that these supplications cannot be attributed to the infallible Imams. His argument is as follows:

> Ponder this statement, because the sources of their knowledge—peace be upon it—is unique; all are from a single source of Light. We must admit that their words convey one truth, and if one knew them, one would acknowledge our assertion. There is a consensus among our companions on the most perfect courage in Imam Ali and his son, Husayn, and the most perfect knowledge in the Ṣādiqayn (Imam Ṣādiq and Imam Bāqir), because of the requirements of their time and political situation in the Umayyad and the beginning of the Abbāsid government. This, however, does not means that Imam Ali and Imam Husayn were less perfect in knowledge or the Ṣādiqayn were less perfect in courage.[249]

Some Clarifying Remarks on the Ranks of the Infallible Imams

With regard to different attitudes toward the infallible Imams, before anything else we have to admit that as individual humans, they are different in bodily and mental nature. We cannot discuss this important issue in detail here, but very briefly we will try to give some explanation.

Clearly all the prophets and infallible Imams, the same as the saints and those who achieve a high level of divine knowledge and spirituality, have the free will to step into the path of God or not, so being infallible does not mean that they have no choice but to perform perfect actions and have perfect attitudes.

The attitudes and actions of the Imams and prophets are not instinct and merely due to their nature; otherwise they would have no priority over ordinary people. In that case, their spiritual status would also not be considered a perfection of their souls.

According to the hadiths on the creation of the Imams, in the beginning of their creation, they were illuminating Light created thousands of years ago, but this number of years conveys the point that their existence is eternal, and being eternal does not mean they were created in eternal time; rather, it means that their existence is

from the Light of God, so they have been emanated from God, as every creature and perfectional existence had been emanated from God's existence. So there is no priority and posteriority in time. Based on this explanation, the beginning and end of everyone is related to Him, because the caused cannot separate from its cause.

According to the principle of causality, there is no existential duality between cause and caused, because caused as an emanated existence of cause, is a lower level of it, and the reason is that the cause does not and cannot lack any perfectional aspects of the existence of the caused. All perfection in caused, encompassed in the cause in a more perfectional mode of being.

The difference between the infallible Prophet and Imams and other people is a fact, but this again does not mean that they had no free will to commit sin. Like other people, the infallibles had power to choose the straight path or not. That which prevented them from committing sins was their pure souls and their knowledge. Because of their knowledge of the inner nature of the evil and ugliness of immoral actions, committing a wrong moral action would practically become impossible for them. Nevertheless, like other people, they lived in the material world and had bodily appetites and other this-worldly restrictions and temptations.

Living in this world requires dealing with the multiplicity of material affairs that is necessary for any spiritual ascending journey from the lowest level of existence toward the highest. In the ascending journey to the world of Unity and annihilation in His realm, every individual has to pass through bodily multiplicity and engage in day-by-day worldly affairs.

When one reaches the realm of Unity, all one's bodily aspects and multiplicity will disappear. The highest rank of annihilation belongs to the Prophet and Imams, as they have the most perfect level of detachment from the bodily realm. In the divine realm of annihilation, there is only God and the Light of His Oneness, and other existents disappear; so there, Muhammad's existence is not the same as the this-worldly Muhammad [we are familiar with]. There is not Ali in the same existence of Ali. Fatimah is not separate from Hasan and Husayn; nor is each of the Holy Imams separated from the others, because all existents are annihilated in Him. All are one unique light, and the Shining Sun of the Unity.

The Light of God manifests in this world in different modes of being, and the beings are limited within their specific quiddity. In other word, the light of God manifests in the mountain skirts and fields and enlightens the oceans and seas. So the light of the North

Pole has its own essence and quiddity, so it becomes quite different from the South Pole, or the equator territories.

After the spiritual wayfarer reaches the state of Unity, once again in the descending journey he comes back to the bodily world and the state of multiplicity while he is still with God. This is the final stage of the mystic's journey, a recognition that everything as a unified whole reflects the ontological unity of the divine and that the realized human recognizes a desire to return to the principle, the One Who is the source of being, God.

The Prophet is endowed with the most comprehensive state of being, which is that of "unity in multiplicity and multiplicity in unity." He manifested the perfection of his being through which he was connected to the realm of Divinity, even as he moved among people. It is as if he lived always with one eye on creation and the other on the Creator.

جَمِيعُ أَفْعَالِهِ وَسَكَنَاتِهِ يَكُونُ مِنَ اللهِ وَيُرْجَعُ جَمِيعُهَا إِلَى اللهِ.

"All his activities and inactivity are from God, and all are returned to God."

As we have already said, the infallible Imams, like the Prophet, needed to travel through the four spiritual journeys to be able to reconcile the two stages of material and immaterial beings; otherwise they would not have had a comprehensive being and would have been at a lower stage than ordinary people.

The reason is that the highest levels of perfection do not lie only with intellectual perfection; rather, they lie with the perfection of all levels of existence, from bodily (this-worldly) to imaginal, and from imaginal to intellectual. This noble rank will be achieved if they complete their fourth journey and come back to people to guide and assist them in their religion and worldly life. This noble state lies with intellectual perfection as well as with experiencing and gaining the perfection of the bodily world, where they form their character through their day-by-day personal and social life, involving themselves in the difficulties of people's worldly life. In fact, intellectual perfection is possible only through bodily excellence and prosperity.

Nevertheless, the holy Imams were created from different parents and grew with different nourishment and hundreds of different conditions, so their thoughts and mind were different as they were physically and by nature different. Based on this differentiation, they had dissimilar styles of life and behavior in various cases and times.

The stature of Imam Ali was medium, and he was rather large-bellied and bright-faced, with big black eyes, losing hair on top, with thin ankles. Both Imam Hasan's and Husayn's appearance looked like

that of the Prophet—Imam Hasan in the face and Imam Husayn in his body. Some of the Imams had bright faces, like Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq, and some of them had dark faces like Imam Jawād, because his mother was a black slave-girl from the Tribe of Nawbah (one of the African territories).[250]

The infallible Imams and the Prophet, despite all these different physical and psychical characteristics, had many common moral, spiritual, and intellectual attributes, such as knowledge, bravery, forbearance, and patience. Nevertheless, each of them is famous for one or two particular attributes. For example, Imam Husayn is famous for bravery and Imam Hasan for forbearance. The reason for this is that due to the situation of their time, they manifested a particular attribute. Imam Husayn had to show his bravery in his battle in Karbala, and Imam Hasan had to show his patience in his peace treaty with Mu'āwīyah; otherwise he was the bravest person in the battles of Jamal and Ṣiffīn.

After Imam Hasan made a peace treaty with Mu'āwīyah, he told Mu'āwīyah: "Be aware that Husayn will never make any peace treaty with you, even if all the members of his family will die in this way!"

In Imam Hasan's peace treaty with Mu'āwīyah, Qays Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Ibādah and Sulaymān Ibn Ṣurad Khuzā'ī did not swear allegiance; however, the condition of Imam Hasan was such that he thought it would be better not to start a war with Mu'āwīyah. The main reason for his peace treaty was to stop shedding the blood of Muslims whom he could not trust to fight with Mu'āwīyah to victory. On the other hand, if the Imam fought with Mu'āwīyah, his people would betray him and hand him over to the enemy.

At that time, when Imam Husayn was not in the position of the Imamate, and had to obey and follow the Imam of his time, Hasan al-Mujtabā, he supported the peace treaty and the Imamate of his brother. It was in the same way until after ten years, Mu'āwīyah poisoned Imam Hasan through his wife, the daughter of Ash'ath Ibn Qays. After Imam Hasan, the peace treaty was ended, so Imam Husayn could fight with Mu'āwīyah, but he did not. He lived in peace with Mu'āwīyah for ten years until Mu'āwīyah died, and Yazīd broke the peace treaty of his father and kept bothering the Imam and asking him to swear allegiance or be killed. At this point, Imam Husayn realized the only remedy was to use his sword.

Now that we have made the issue clear, if you ask which Imam made the best decision, the answer is that all of them made the best decision in their own time. So if Imam Hasan had been in the time of

Imam Husayn, he would have fought with Yazīd and would have been martyred in Karbala.

To summarize, as the Imams are perfect beings and comprehensive souls, their actions are in accord with God's Will. The actions of God in His best order of creation are sound, right, and good; therefore, the actions and attitudes of the Imams are also within the framework of the best order of God.

The Prophet stated about Imam Ali

اللّهمّ أدِرِ الحقّ معه حيث دار

"O God, turn the 'right' accord with Ali's will and movement."

He is not saying:

اللّهمّ أدِرْ عليّاً مع الحقّ حيث دار

"O God, turn Ali' accord with the movement of 'right'"!

In any case, the action of the infallible Imam is always correct and sound. In order to truly know the Imams, we must investigate their real character, attributes, behaviors, and actions, and then adjust our actions in accordance with theirs and take them as a perfect symbol in our life. We cannot create an imaginary Imam in our mind and take those perceptions as our leader and follow them. This imaginary Imam cannot be the true Imam to rely on; rather it is an invented imam and cannot guide us to the straight path.

The Two Celestial and Bodily Aspects of the Existence of the Imam, and the Issue of Their Free will

Those who believe that the Imams are divine creatures and celestial beings, without any earthly and bodily yearnings, are greatly mistaken. They imagine that they are just blissful beings (like guardian angels) that are created to live without will and desire. This is a kind of exaggeration in Shi'ism (*ghuluww*). The Imams are also human beings; they have their own duties, wills, and desires, and have to carry out their spiritual journeys by laborious efforts. Like other human beings, they are always between the two choices of good and evil, heaven and hell. It is through struggling with lust and desire and fighting with the self that they have reached that lofty position, where there is no veil between them and their Creator. This is what made Muhammad the chosen Messenger and what made Ali the Imam.

He who imagines that the main job of Imams is only praying and supplicating in the presence of God should also think that their supplications and soothing of mourning are a certain kind of mockeries

they are practicing! There would be some problems in a person who made such a supposition:

First of all, he has blinded his eyes and cannot see the true of Shi'a faith.

Second, he has cut off his spiritual relationship with the Imams, because in fact he is not following a true Imam.

Third, he has practically cut off his spiritual relationship with the Imams in term of following them, because he certainly would think and say to himself: What is our business with those Imams? The Imams were pure, immaculate people. There were infallible and could never commit any sins, so they will definitely reside in Paradise, but we are ordinary human beings and have natural lust and may follow our sensual passions, so there is a wide gap between them and us, and they cannot be our symbol in this worldly life. The reason for such differences between them and us is that since the beginning, God has created them luminous, whereas He has created us in deep darkness; He has created them virtuous by nature, and we are created fallible; therefore, no matter how hard we may try, we can never reach their rank, so we cannot take them as our leader and spiritual guide.

Fourth is that "Imam" means "the leader, the followed one, and the pioneer," but the follower is one who obeys and follows the Imam. So if for the aforementioned reasons, we do not follow the Imam, in fact "Imam" and "follower" lose their meanings and the connection between them is cut off. The chain of the Guardianship will be torn apart and their authority will fade out!

The philosophy of the Imams' authority is that it is present to assist us in spiritual journeys and take us to the realm they themselves have already achieved. Their mission is to take us to the realm of Divine Unity, to the Divine Lights, the most Splendid Position. In that realm, there will be no difference between the Imam and the follower, nor will there be able to be any distinction. The only difference will be in the titles: one is the Leader and another one is the follower. They are known as Imam, because it is they who led ordinary people and taught them the knowledge of life in this and the next world in order to achieve the lofty position.

Therefore, the fourteen infallibles, including the Prophet and his Household—Fatimah, Ali, and his eleven children who carry this title—have the positions of the *wilāyat*. They are the leaders to guide their followers to the straight path and ultimately to nearness of God, as the Qur'an says:

وَأَنَّ إِلَىٰ رَبِّكَ الْمُنْتَهَىٰ

...and that to your Lord is the final End (53:42).

By this explanation, there remains no doubt or hesitation in saying that all the prophets and the pure Imams are different from one another. In the Holy Qur'an, every prophet and Imam is mentioned with quite different attributes and specialties. The great mystic Ibn Arabi has compiled his *Fuṣūs al-Ḥikam* on the basis of this fact and has assigned each chapter of his book to one prophet and saint in order to explain his special characteristic.

Nowadays, the Ḥawza-ye 'Ilmiyyah in Qum, by the scholarly efforts of our great Master, 'Allāmah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī, has flourished and can offer true knowledge of the Imams and accurate knowledge about their position. However, in Ḥawza-ye Khorasan, there are a great many different kinds of Shaykhism and following of the teachings of Mīrzāi [related to Mīrzā Mahdi Isfahani] that promote the idea that the gates to divine metaphysics and mysticism are completely closed, whether they are approached through mystical intuitions or philosophical demonstrations. In this way they in fact promote the teachings of Akhbārism, which is mostly similar to Ḥashwiyyah and Zāhiriyyah, by which they mislead many students and those who are keen to learn the teachings, of Islam and they make their followers follow them to a dead end!

If we had investigated a bit more, and learned some more about the Household and known them as they are, our religious study would not be as stagnant as it is now!

The late great Ayatollah, our close friend, Ḥājj Sayyid Ṣadr al-Din Jazāy'irī, said:

> Once, in Shām, I was invited to visit Ḥājj Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn Jabal Āmilī, and it happened that the late Ḥājj Shaykh Abbās Qumi was also there. He was discussing with the late Amīn, and during their discussion, he said to Amīn: "Why, in your book *A'yān al-Shi'a,* have you mentioned Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn's swearing allegiance to Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwīyah?"
>
> He answered:
>
>> *A'yān al-Shi'a* is a historical book, so all true historical events must be mentioned in it. According to history, at that time Muslim Ibn 'Aqabah with his army attacked Medina and killed many Muslims. After three days of blood-shedding in the town, Imam Sajjād, in order to save Muslim and many of Banī Hāshim, decided to swear allegiance to Yazīd. This is a historical fact that I have to mention in my book, like that Imam Ali swore allegiance to Abu Bakr six months after the Prophet's demise, and the martyrdom of Fatimah al-Zahrā.

The late Qumi said: "Although these subjects are absolutely true, it is not good to mention them, because this kind of information may weaken the faith of the people, so sometimes you must not write something that is against the belief of the people."

The late Amīn said: "I really do not know which one is against the belief of the people and which one is not. So you inform me not write whatever is not right!"

We have to say that Qumi's opinion in this case was not right, because he suspected that if people knew the Imam had sworn allegiance to Yazīd, they would lose their belief and turn away from the religion of the Shi'a, because people believed that an Imam had to remain stable and firm and never swear allegiance to anyone like Yazīd.

The mischief of this kind of thought is clear, first because the infallible Imam knows better than us which actions in such situations might be good or bad for the faith of people. Second, if we fall into the hands of a tyrannical ruler like Yazīd, and he forces us to swear allegiance, it would be quite reasonable do so, if this action will prevent bloodshed. This would be good decision, especially if we knew that our Imam was also happy with swearing allegiance.

In addition, in Shi'a belief we have the concept of dissimulation, which justifies such actions against tyrannical rulers. So why should we try to hide it by not mentioning them in historical sources so as to cheat the others and involve them in hardship! By doing so, the believers may humiliate one who wants to swear allegiance in a similar situation.

The late Muḥaddith Qumi was a very great scholar, but he was selective in narrating hadith, and sometimes he used to eliminate sections and parts of a hadith's content that he supposed might be harmful to the faith of the people. Obviously, this is not a correct and scholarly approach to history and religious sources. In these cases, one could put one's own view in the margins of the book or give advice to the reader about any misunderstanding. This is all one can do with historical documents.

In *Muntaha al-Āmāl,* when explaining the murder of Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn al-Hasan, known as Nafs al-Zakiyyah, and the murder of Ibrahim Ibn Abdullah Ibn al-Hasan, known as Bākhamrī, Muḥaddith Qumi has again only mentioned very brief information about their killing without giving the details of their sorrowful condition.[251]

'Allāmah Amīnī, in *al-Ghadīr*, when mentioning Abdullah Maḥḍ and his two children, Muhammad and Ibrahim, has also taken out parts of events and has not narrated the details of their story.[252]

***

In any case, the difference between the supplications of Imam Sajjād, especially in *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*, and the supplications of Imam Ali in terms of meaning and style is quite clear. The supplications of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* are soothing and issue forth from an agonized heart, and the supplications of *Ṣaḥīfah al-'Alawiyyah*, collected by Mīrzā Abdullah Ibn Ṣāliḥ Samāhījī and his *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thānawiyyah*, collected by our contemporary Muḥaddith, Ḥājj Mīrzā Husayn Nūrī, include very delicate, transcendent, and intellectual issues with superb meanings that ordinary people cannot write at such a high level. However, this does not mean that Imam Sajjād was not able to write his supplications with such themes. The conditions of Imam Ali required those themes, while the conditions of Imam Sajjād required mystical supplications.

Perhaps Imam Ali also wrote some mystical supplications when he was in Medina at the time of the Prophet and Fatimah, when he was in Ḥā'iṭ Banī al-Najjār (The Garden of Banī Najjār), but we have not received them.

The astonishing supplications of Imam Ali are not limited to supplications like *Kumayl* and *Ṣabāḥ*; rather almost all of his supplications are majestic with divine and glorious words that are effused with the light of the divine realm of God to his heart.

Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb's marriage to Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Fatimah, is one of the true historical facts. So why do some of the Shi'a not want to mention it in their books?! If we write about this event, then we can better prove that the Household of the Prophet was innocent, because this event shows that Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb put Imam Ali in such an awful situation to allow him to marry his little girl.[253]

Ibn Ḥajar 'Asqalānī Ṣhāfi'ī narrates from *al-Iṣābah fi Tamyīz al-Ṣiḥābah*, vol. 4, p. 468:

> Omar asked Ali, the father of Umm Kulthūm, to be allowed to marry her. Umm Kulthūm was his daughter from Fatimah, daughter of the Prophet. But Ali told him that she was too young to be married. Omar's friends told him: "See that? Ali has rejected your request!" So Omar once again went and made the same request of Ali. The Imam told him: "I will send her to you to see if you like her, and then I will let you marry her." After she went to Omar, he wanted to view her ankle, but Umm Kulthūm told him:

مَهْ،لولا انّكَ أميرالمؤمنين للّطمتُ عينيك

"O you, behave yourself! If you were not the caliph, I would slap you on the face!" However, by paying forty thousand dirhams as a marriage gift, Omar married her!

Zubayr says:

Umm Kulthūm brought forth two children for Omar, Zayd and Ruqayyah. Some time later, Umm Kulthūm died along with her son, Zayd, on the same day. According to history, Zayd's death was sudden. One day, he went out to bring peace between two men of Banī 'Addī, but all of a sudden a man appeared in the darkness, attacked him, and struck him on the head. A few days later, Zayd died, and his mother, Umm Kulthūm, also died on the same day from a serious illness.

After a short explanation, on page 469, Zubayr narrates the story of Umm Kulthūm's marriage to Omar and says:

> Omar asked Ali to marry his daughter, Umm Kulthūm; Ali said:
>
> إنّما حبستُ بناتى على بنى جعفر
>
> "I have kept my daughters to marry my brother Ja'far Ṭayyār's sons!"
>
> Omar said:
>
> زَوِّجنيها؛ فوالله ما على ظهر الارض رَجلٌ يَرصُد من كَرامتها ما أرصُدُ
>
> "Do let her marry me; by God, there is no one whose rank is as high as mine on the earth, and I will protect her better than anyone else!"
>
> Ali told him: "All right, I agree to your marrying her."
>
> Then Omar went to the Muhājir (Immigrants) and told them: "Do pray for me to establish a good family and have some good children through this marriage." They started praying for him and then asked him whom he had married. He answered:
>
>> I married Ali's daughter, according to what the Messenger of God, God's blessing be upon him and his Household, had said:
>>
>> كُلُّ نَسَبٍ وسببٍ سيقطع يوم القيمة إلّا نسبى وسببى، وكنت قد صاهَرتُ فأحببت هذا أيضا
>>
>> "On the Day of Resurrection, any consanguineous and marital relationship will be cut off except my consanguineous and

marital relationships." I am already the son-in-law of the Prophet; now I want to have another marital relation with him.

'Aṭā Khorasani has narrated that Omar paid forty thousand dirhams as her marriage gift. He added: "The son of Omar performed the final ritual prayer over her body and that of her son, Zayd, when they died on the same day."

The same story has been narrated by Ibn 'Abd al-Birr in *al-Istī'āb* (Egypt: Maktabat al-Nihḍah, 1380), as follows:

After Umm Kulthūm returned from Omar, she said to his father: "You took me to a bad Shaykh!" The Imam said: "O my daughter, he is your husband now."

Omar went to a group of the Immigrants and said: "Do congratulate me!" They asked: "What for?" He answered: "It is for my marriage with Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Ali." Then he explained the whole story to them, and explained his second marital relation to the Prophet. He also said that he had paid forty thousand dirhams as the marriage gift.

Abu al-Fidā, Ibn Kathīr Dameshqi, in his book *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat*, vol. 7, p. 81, says that Wāqidī has narrated:

In the year 17 AH, Omar married Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib. She was the daughter of Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet. The wedding took place in the month of Dhi al-Qa'dah, and we already explained the details of Omar's marriage. He says that her marriage gift was forty thousand dirhams.

On p. 139, Ibn Kathīr says that Madā'inī has narrated:

Omar first proposed marriage to Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Abu Bakr, who was a little girl. He asked Āyishah to take his proposal. However, Umm Kulthūm in reply said: "I need not marry him." Āyishah said: "Do you reject the Master of the Believers, Omar?" Umm Kulthūm said: "Yes, he is too rough and violent in life!" Āyishah beseeched 'Amr al-'Āṣ to convey the response of Umm Kulthūm to Omar. 'Amr 'Āṣ advised Omar to leave her, and in the meantime, he introduced Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, to him. He added that by marrying her, he would set up a marital relation with the Prophet! So Omar decided to marry Ali's daughter. He paid her forty thousand dirhams as the marriage gift. She brought forth two children for Omar, Zayd and Ruqayyah.

Abu al-Fidā then says:

Omar had proposed the marriage to Umm Abān, the daughter of 'Otbat Ibn Shaybah, but she was not pleased to marry Omar either. She said:

يُغلِقُ بابَهُ وَيَمنَعُ خَيرَهُ وَيَدخُلُ عابِساً وَيَخرُجُ عابِساً

"He closes his blessing door to the needy. The people do not receive his benefit and help, and he always leaves you in anger!"

Ṭabarī says: "Omar married the daughter of Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib and Fatimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God, and paid forty thousand dirhams for the marriage gift, and Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib's daughter brought fourth for Omar two children, Zayd and Ruqayyah.[254]

Madā'nī has also narrated that Omar asked for the daughter of Abu Bakr when she was still a quite young girl. He sent someone to Āyishah to convey his proposal. Āyishah told Umm Kulthūm: "It is up to you whether you want to marry him or not." Umm Kulthūm answered: "I need not him!" Āyishah said: "What! Do you reject the proposal of the Master of Believers?" She said: "Yes, I do. He is indeed a harsh man; he behaves angrily with women!" Āyishah beseeched 'Amr al-'Āṣ to help her to give her message to Omar. 'Amr al-'Āṣ promised her to do his best and settle everything. So he went to Omar and said: "O Master of the Believers, I have heard something not fair from you, so I beseech God to save you from the evil of it."

Omar asked: "What is that news you have heard about me?" 'Amr al-'Āṣ said: "That is you have asked Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Abu Bakr, to marry!"

Omar said:

نَعَمْ! أَفَرَغِبتَ بِي عَنها أَمْ رَغِبتَ بِها عَنِّي

"Do you think I am too much for her, or she is too much for me?"

'Amr al-'Āṣ said:

لا واحِدَةٌ وَلَكِنَّها حَدَثَةٌ نَشَأَتْ تَحتَ كَنَفِ اُمِّ المُؤمِنينَ فِي لِينٍ وَرِفقٍ، وَفِيكَ غِلظَةٌ وَنَحنُ نَهابُكَ وَما نَقدِرُ أَن نَرُدَّكَ عَن خُلقٍ مِن أَخلاقِكَ فَكَيفَ بِها إِن خالَفَتكَ فِي شَيءٍ فَسَطَوتَ بِها كُنتَ قَد خَلَفتَ أَبا بَكرٍ فِي وُلدِهِ بِغَيرِ ما يَحِقُّ عَلَيكَ

"Neither. However, she is quite a young girl and is in the care of Āyishah, Umm al-Mu'minīn, and is brought up in fairness. But there is a fierceness in you such that we are frightened to face you. We are not in such a position as to reject a word from you; what will happen

> to this poor little girl if she makes a mistake in your house? How you are going to deal with her? In that case, with regard to the children of Abu Bakr, you will face with something other than your will!"

> Omar said: "I have discussed this subject with Āyishah; now tell me, what shall I do? What am I going to tell her?" 'Amr al-'Āṣ said:
>
> أنالَكَ بِهَا وَأدُلُّكَ عَلَى خَيْرٍ مِنهَا: امُّ كُلثُوم بِنْتِ علیٌّ بنِ أبی طالبٍ تَعَلَّقُ مِنهَا بِنَسَبٍ مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صلی الله علیه و آله وسلّم؛
>
> "Leave it to me; it is my duty to make her be pleased with you. I will answer her properly. However, I will direct you to a girl much better than her. She is Umm Kulthūm, Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib's daughter. By marrying her, you will have marital relationship to the Prophet."

Ibn al-Ḥadīd has narrated from Ṭabarī the same hadith in *Sharh Nahj al-Balāghah*, 20 volumes (Egypt), vol. 12, pp. 221–22.

'Allāmah Amīnī has narrated the story of Omar's command that he made from the pulpit. Omar announced that the marriage gift of women must not be over four hundred dirhams; otherwise he would take it for the benefit of the nation's treasury house.[255] Having narrated this story with different chains, 'Allāmah Amīnī says: "And perhaps the Caliph Omar listened to the request of certain woman to give four thousand dirhams for Umm Kulthūm's marriage gift."[256]

'Abd al-Jalīl Qazvini Rāzī, in the book of *al-Naqṣ*, known also as *Ba'ḍ al-Mathālib al-Nawāṣib fi Naqḍ ba'ḍ Fazā'iḥ al-Rawāfiḍ*, from pages 278 to 279, has explained this story from opponents, and he has explained the error of his narration. Here we will mention some useful parts of it, the most important points of Sunni Nāṣibī, in order to make everything clear for the readers.

He begins his story as follows:

> Murtaḍā Baghdad in his book says that Ali gave his daughter to Omar because he was afraid of him, as Omar had already sworn: "If you do not let your daughter marry me, I will ruin Fatimah's house upon you".

> And Baharī says: "He could not marry that girl because God knew it was not a suitable marriage for the girl [Abubar's daughter]."

> Some people say that it was Āyishah who encouraged Omar to marry Ali's daughter, because she wanted to persecute Ali through this marriage. Later Omar said: "Āyishah told me Ali is not brave enough to give me his daughter!" When Ali did not agree to give her to Omar, he took his complaint to Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and told him: "If Ali does not let his daughter marry me, I will bring some witnesses to say

that Ali has committed adultery!" Ali asked: "Where are you going to bring witnesses from?" Omar said: "As you know, I am the Caliph and Guardian. If I command, no one can disobey me! Then I will command my men to stone you!"

Ali informed Ibn Abbās of what Omar had said. Abbās said: "O son of my brother, give your daughter to him! A daughter is not better than the Caliphate he has usurped!"

Ali said: "I will not let Banī 'Addī marry Banī Hāshim." Abbās said: "If you do not do so, then I will do it," so he went to Ali's daughter and told the whole story to her, but she did not agree with him. Abbās returned to Ali, and without his permission gave his daughter to Omar!

'Abd al-Jalīl Qazvini then says:

If what has been said by that Rāfiḍī man was true, Omar would take the girl illegally because in this way Umm Kulthūm would be at his home unlawfully, and Zayd would be his illegitimate son. Based on this narration, Ali, with his high position, would also be less than a common person to ignore the case and keep silence against such oppression. This is in fact a slander against Ali by Rawāfiḍ to introduce Ali as a weak, susceptible, and malleable man. This brave man does not deserve to be attributed with such features such that he would allow Omar to take away his daughter without his permission, and then ask Omar some amount for the marriage gift!

Qazvini continues: "They asked the Holiness Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq about this marriage, and he said: 'They have usurped her. There has never been anyone who is more of a liar than Rāfiḍī; they have nothing more to do but to accuse people falsely!'"

We must shed more light on this story and say that Imam Ali is not better than the Prophet, and Omar is not worse than Othman 'Affān. According to the history, the Prophet gave two of his daughters to Othman! If Ali's decision for the sake of saving Islam was wrong, we must accept the Prophet's decision was also wrong. In addition, Ali was not more knowledgeable than the Prophet! He was not wiser than the Prophet, and we see that the Prophet, may God's blessing be upon him and his Household, let his daughter marry the son of Abu Lahab, and his other daughter married Rabī' Ibn 'Āṣ. He did this in order to show all the messengers that the apostles can have marital relations with people lower than they.

So the nonsense that this unjust man has said concerning Ali and Abbās is wrong. It was quite clear that Ali was very faithful to the

Shari'ah and always free from sin! As the Holy Prophet said about Ali:

إِنِّي لَا أَخَافُ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَرْجِعَ كَافِراً بَعْدَ إِيمَانٍ وَلَا زَانِياً بَعْدَ إِحْصَانٍ

"I am not worried about Ali; I am sure that with his strong belief, he will never become an unbeliever, nor will he commit adultery!"

So certainly Imam Ali should not be afraid of what Omar said, so everything that the Rāfiḍī have said about Imam Ali and Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq as well as the Shi'a is totally wrong!

The marriage of Ali's daughter was quite in accordance with his will, and Abbās was quite aware and his act here was sound. In such cases, the people know that the daughter of the Prophet was the wife of Othman, who was proud of Othman.[257]

In this marriage, the one who was proud was Omar, not Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Ali! Banī 'Addī was not at the rank of Abu Ṭālib, so Omar was very keen to have a marital relationship with Imam Ali and the Prophet.[258]

In any case, by what has been explained so far, it becomes clear that Omar's marriage to Umm Kulthūm is a historical fact, and it cannot be disregarded. After Omar's death, Umm Kulthūm married 'Awn, and then Muhammad, the two sons of Ja'far Ṭayyār, the two persons whom Ali had in mind before she married Omar.

As for the marriage gift that Omar gave to Umm Kulthūm, we have to say that it was a rare to pay forty thousand dirhams for this. We also have to say that there is no doubt that Omar's intention of this marriage was to attain more pride by virtue of a marital relationship to a grandchild of the Prophet and having children in that way. But we still need to find out what his real purpose by this marriage was.

Was he going to hurt the Master of the Faithful, Imam Ali, and then find pride among the Immigrants? Or did he want to take revenge on Fatimah though she was still mourning for her father's loss?![259] In fact, we do not have the information to make an accurate judgment about his event, so we leave it with the historians to investigate it further.[260]

However, there is valid historical information received from Imam Ṣādiq, who said:

ذَلِكَ فَرْجٌ غُصِبُوهَا

"They have usurped her."

This means that the marriage had taken place without the consent of the Imam and Umm Kulthūm. Although the wedding contract was superficially agreed to, it was done unwillingly; it cannot be consid-

ered a true marriage. So Omar's action was unlawful, because he forced the girl and her father, but Umm Kulthūm's action was right. This marriage of hers is not considered to be adultery, because the ritual of marriage was officially carried out; therefore, her children were legitimate.

Those hadiths that say that both Imam Ali and Abbās made the girl marry Omar are correct, because they wanted to avoid any possible sedition as the result of serious tension between them. Those hadiths about the dissatisfaction of the Imam are also true, because he was truly angry with this marriage.

The marriage of Sukaynah, daughter of al-Husayn, with Muṣ'ab Ibn Zubayr is also a historical fact, so why should we deny it just because Muṣ'ab was not a true and faithful man? We must present some possible elements that we cannot understand. For instance, maybe Muṣ'ab was not a deviated person at that time, or perhaps there were some other situations that made this marriage necessary.

Abu al-Faraj Isfahani has said:

> Sukaynah, daughter of al-Husayn, had several marriages. The first one of them was to Abdullah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali, who was the son of a paternal uncle of hers, then Muṣ'ab Ibn Zubayr, Abdullah Ibn Othman Ḥazāmī, Zayd Ibn 'Amr Ibn Othman, Aṣbagh Ibn 'Abd al-Azīz Ibn Marwān, and Ibrahim Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Awf. The latter two did not have serious relations with her.[261]

Bint al-Shāṭī says:

> Sayyidah Tawfiq Fakīkī, in her book, has narrated from Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzāq about Sayyidah Sukaynah as follows: "There are some historians who have written about the marriage of Sukaynah with her cousin, Abdullah Akbar, the son of Imam Hasan, who was killed in the event of 'Āshurā. The historians have narrated her other marriages as well." Sayyid Tawfīq has added that there is historical evidence that after the marriage with her cousin, she married Muṣ'ab Ibn Zubayr. The ritual of her marriage was performed by her brother, Imam Ali Ibn al-Hasan al-Sajjād'[262]

Mu'āwīyah's Marriage Proposal to the Daughter of Abdullah Ibn Ja'far and the Highness Zaynab, Daughter of Imam Ali

Mu'āwīyah was seeking to marry the daughter of the Highness Zaynab, but later 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān married her. She divorced 'Abd al-Malik and then married Ali Ibn Abdullah Ibn Abbās. Her marriages are explained by Ibn Isḥāq in his *al-Sīrat*, as follows:

Zaynab, the daughter of Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, married Abdullah Ibn Ja'far Ibn Abi Ṭālib, and she brought forth two children for him. Her son's name was Ali Ibn Abdullah, and her daughter was called Umm Abīhā.

'Abd al Mālik Ibn Marwān married Umm Abīhā, and some time later he divorced her; then Ali Ibn Abdullah Ibn Abbās married her.

Yūnis has narrated from Thābit Ibn Dīnār and Abu Ja'far:

Mu'āwīyah Ibn Abi Sufyān asked Abdullah Ibn Ja'far to allow him to marry his daughter Zaynab. He said to him: "In return I will pay out your debt." So he promised him on this basis. But Abdullah told him: "I have an Amīr who is better than I. Without his permission, I have no authority over my daughter."

Mu'āwīyah told him: "In that case, ask for his permission."

Abdullah went to Imam Husayn Ibn Ali and informed him that Mu'āwīyah wanted to marry his daughter and in return to pay all his debts to the people. Then he added: "You are her cousin, but in fact you are like her father, so please let me know your opinion about this marriage?"

Imam Husayn asked him: "Do you truly want me to tell you my opinion about this marriage?"

Abdullah answered: "Yes, from now, all her affairs are with you!"

Husayn Ibn Ali went to the girl and asked: "Your father has trusted your marriage to me; do you also trust me to look after this issue?"

The girl answered: "Yes, I will listen to you and you can do whatever you want."

The Holiness left the girl on her own and implored God: "O my God! Make the best marriage for this girl!" After a while, Husayn met a young man of their relatives [from Hāshimī] and asked him: "Do you trust me to find you a suitable girl to marry?" The young man answered: "It is with you, do whatever you want to."

On the other hand, Mu'āwīyah wrote a letter to Marwān Ibn Ḥakam, the governor of Medina, saying: "I have asked Abu Ja'far to have his daughter married, and he has said this marriage is subject to the permission of Husayn. So you know Husayn well, do ask him to let the girl marry me!"

As soon as he read the letter, Marwān Ibn Ḥakam gathered the people, got some candies and sweets, and ordered the musicians to get ready, and then invited Husayn to their gathering. When Imam Husayn went to him, he said: "The Commander of the Believers [Mu'āwīyah] has written a letter to me saying that he has asked Abu Ja'far to let his daughter marry him, but he has left this matter in your hands. Now, I request that the girl be allowed to marry the Amīr."

In reply, the Imam said: "I ask you to stand as a witness that I have married this girl to someone else! I have married her to that young Hāshimī man!"

Marwān said: "All the affairs of you, the Banī Hāshimī, are trickery!"

Imam Husayn said: "I swear by God I am telling the truth. Do you remember that Hasan Ibn Ali asked Othman Ibn 'Affān's daughter to marry him? At that time, when Hasan was going to recite the marriage contract at a gathering like our gathering today, you joined the gathering and forced the girl to marry another man, so you recited the marriage sermon for them?!"

Marwān confirmed whatever Imam Husayn said. Then the Imam asked him: "Now tell me, who is the most deceitful, you or I?"

After that, the Imam sold his land in Bughaybghah to Mu'āwīyah for two thousand dirhams and gave the money to Abdullah Ibn Ja'far. He also gave another piece of land worth two thousand dirhams to Abdullah.

Divine Destiny and the Imams' Will

Sometimes the Imams decide to do something, but God has destined something else.

Imam Ali was asked: "How do you know your creator?"

بِمَاذَا عَرَفْتَ رَبَّكَ؟

The Imam answered:

فَسْخِ الْعَزَائِمِ وَنَقْضِ الْهِمَمِ. لَمَّا هَمَمْتُ فَحِيلَ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَ هَمِّي. وَعَزَمْتُ فَخَالَفَ الْقَضَاءُ وَالْقَدَرُ عَزْمِي. عَلِمْتُ أَنَّ الْمُدَبِّرَ غَيْرِي!

"As overruling all my decisions and breaking my determinations, because whenever I decided to do something, something unpredicted changed my decision, and when I decided on doing a certain thing, the Divine Will opposed my decision. It was then I understood that other than myself, Someone manages things!"

Similarly, Imam Ali in *Nahj al-Balāghah* says:

عَرَفْتُ اللهَ سُبْحَانَهُ بِفَسْخِ الْعَزَائِمِ وَحَلِّ الْعُقُودِ.[263]

"I know God by the overruling of decisions and the revoking of agreements!"

وَكَانَ عليه السّلام يُسَلِّمُ عَلَى النِّساءِ وَيَكْرَهُ السَّلامَ عَلَى الشّابَّةِ مِنهُنَّ. فَقِيلَ لَهُ فِي ذَلِكَ. فَقَالَ عليه السّلام: أَتَخَوَّفُ أَنْ يُعْجِبَنِي صَوْتُهَا فَيَدْخُلَ عَلَيَّ أَكْثَرُ مِمَّا طَلَبْتُ مِنَ الاجر.[264]

It was the custom of Imam Ali to greet and salute the women; however, he did not like to greet the younger ones. When he was asked about this, he answered: "I am worried that soft voices of young ladies may stimulate me; therefore, what I may gain from greeting would be less than what I may lose!"

Shaykh Mufīd says that Abdullah Ibn Maymūn Qaddāḥ narrated from Ja'far Ibn Muhammad al-Ṣādiq saying:

اصْطَرَعَ الْحَسَنُ وَالْحُسَيْنُ عليهما السّلام بَيْنَ يَدَيْ رَسُولِ الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم: إيهاً[265] حَسَنُ! خُذْ حُسَيْناً!

فَقَالَتْ فَاطِمَةُ عليها السلام: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ! أَتَسْتَنْهِضُ الْكَبِيرَ عَلَى الصَّغِيرِ؟!

فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم: هَذَا جَبْرَئِيلُ عليه السّلام يَقُولُ لِلْحُسَيْنِ: إيهاً حُسَيْنُ خُذِ الْحَسَنَ.[266]

Both Hasan and Husayn were in the presence of the Messenger of God, may God's blessing be upon him and his Household, and wrestling. The Prophet told Hasan: "Focus on your wrestling with Husayn!" Fatimah said: "O Messenger of God! Do you encourage the elder one over the younger one?"

The Prophet said: "Gabriel encourages Husayn by saying: 'O Husayn, leave everything and focus on your wrestling with Hasan!' And I encourage Hasan to do so."

Imam Husayn loved his daughter Sakīnah and his wife Rubāb very much. Rubāb was the daughter of Imra' al-Qays, and her marriage with the Imam was very interesting.[267]

The Sentiments of Sayyid al-Shuhadā on the Day of 'Āshūrā

Some may suppose that the event of 'Āshūrā was an ordinary thing that happened to Sayyid al-Shuhadā. They cannot grasp how difficult

were the tortures, thirst, hunger, wounding, and killing of the Imam and his youths on that disastrous day. They think that because the souls of the Imams belong to Divine, everything is easier for them to tolerate!

Although his illuminating soul was attached to the realm of divinity, like normal people, he could sense torture, hardship, sweetness, and bitterness! They are surprised at Ali Akbar's saying: "I am dying of thirst, and the heaviness of the chainmail makes me restless!"

They justify their incorrect supposition about these saints by some hadiths about the day of 'Āshūrā. For example, in a hadith, it is said: "Ali Akbar's father, by touching his tongue to his mouth, or by putting his ring into his mouth, gave water to him and quenched his thirst!"

Or they say that the heaviness of the "chainmail" in fact means that there were many spears, swords, and other pieces of armor with the enemies, and they were preventing him from attacking.[268]

These kinds of justifications seem not to be true, because Imam Husayn was a human being with natural requirements, so like any other ordinary human being, he could feel thirst and suffer from wounds and injuries. He was suffering from the cries and moans of the children for water and the women on that very sad day, or maybe he was suffering even more than ordinary people because he had more knowledge of the pains and sorrows of his companions and family.

Yes, his love of God and his awareness of the deviated and corrupted ruler who intended to destroy Islam had made him not give up but die as a martyr so as to convey his message to the people and save the religion.

فَسَلَامٌ عَلَيْهِ ثُمَّ سَلَامٌ عَلَيْهِ ثُمَّ سَلَامٌ عَلَيْهِ. وَاللَّعْنُ عَلَى عَدُوِّهِ، ثُمَّ اللَّعْنُ عَلَى عَدُوِّهِ، ثُمَّ اللَّعْنُ عَلَى عَدُوِّهِ.

"So peace be upon him, peace and blessing be upon him; and curses be upon his enemies, and once again curses upon them."

The Martyrdom of the Suckling Babe of Imam Husayn

After we explained that the Imam, like ordinary human beings and even more than them, suffer from the sorrows of his companions and children, we now understand how the martyrdom of two of his beloved, Ali al-Akbar and his suckling baby, Ali al-Aṣghar, affected him. However, as it was for God, he was amazingly patient and accepted his destiny.

His suckling baby's mother was Rubāb, the daughter Imra' al-Qays 'Addī, and her mother was Rubāb Hind al-Hunūd.

Sayyid Ṭāwūs says:

> When Husayn was wounded and fell off the horse, he looked at the young and his beloved, and set forth to meet the army to show them the blood running from his heart, and in the meantime cried out:
>
> هَلْ مِنْ ذَابٍّ يَذُبُّ عَنْ حَرَمِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم؟! هَلْ مِنْ مُوَحِّدٍ يَخَافُ اللهَ فِينَا؟! هَلْ مِنْ مُغِيثٍ يَرْجُو اللهَ بِإِغَاثَتِنَا؟! هَلْ مِنْ مُعِينٍ يَرْجُو مَا عِنْدَ اللهِ فِي إِعَانَتِنَا؟
>
> "Is there anyone to [help and] keep the enemies away from the Household of the Prophet, may God's blessing be upon him and his Household?! Is there anyone faithful so as to be afraid of God for our sake? Is there a confidant helper, for the sake of God's blessing, to assist us? Is there a helper to help us for the reward of the Hereafter?!"
>
> Upon hearing his lamentation, the women in the tents raised their voices, crying and moaning. The Imam went closer to them and said to Zaynab:
>
> نَاوِلِينِي وَلَدِيَ الصَّغِيرَ حَتَّى أُوَدِّعَهُ. فَأَخَذَهُ وَأَوْمَأَ إِلَيْهِ لِيُقَبِّلَهُ، فَرَمَاهُ حَرْمَلَةُ بْنُ كَاهِلٍ الأَسَدِيُّ ـ لَعَنَهُ اللهُ ـ بِسَهْمٍ فَوَقَعَ فِي نَحْرِهِ فَذَبَحَهُ.
>
> "Hand over my little baby to me so that I may say my last farewell to him!" He took the baby and bent to kiss his face. Hardly had he kissed the child, when Ḥarmalet Ibn Kāmil Asadī—may God's curse be on him—targeted the baby's neck, released an arrow, and killed him!'

Regarding this event, the poet says:

> As Ḥarmaleh put an arrow in the bow, a hubbub was raised among the angels.
> When the arrow was shot from his evil bow, it whirled in the air until it reached the target,
> When the heart-rending arrow tore apart the baby's neck, his head dropped from the arm of God [the arm of his father]!
> No one had ever seen a bowstring so tough as to hit two targets with a single arrow!
> The "King" [the Imam] drew the arrow out of baby's throat while saying, "O my Arbitrator, do ask these tribes of the pagans,
> Is he not the grandson of your Prophet, although he is less than a calf in their view?!"

And how beautifully has the poet composed this line:

وَمُنعَطِفٍ أهوَى لِتَقبِيلِ طِفلِهِ   فَقَبّلَ مِنهُ قَبلَهُ السَّهمُ مَنحَرا

"...and hardly has a man bent over to kiss his baby, but before he kissed him, a shot has torn the baby's throat apart!"

[Then] the Holiness told Zaynab:

خُذِيهِ، ثُمَّ تَلَقَّى الدَّمَ بِكَفَّيهِ فَلَمَّا امتَلَأتا رَمَى بِالدَّمِ نَحوَ السَّمَاءِ، ثُمَّ قَالَ: هَوَّنَ عَلَيَّ مَا نَزَلَ بِي أَنَّهُ بِعَينِ اللهِ

"[Come on,] take this child!" And then he cupped two palms of his hand to catch the blood running down from his throat. When his hands were filled up with blood, he splashed it into the sky, saying: "May God make easy for me whatever has fallen upon me, as God witnesses what is happening!"[269]

In *al-Iḥtijāj* it is also narrated that when the Imam was alone with his two sons, Ali Ibn al-Husayn and Abdullah, he took that little one, Abdullah, to kiss him goodbye, but suddenly an arrow embedded itself in his chest and killed him. The Imam dismounted the horse, dug a hole with his sword, and buried the child on that land.[270]

Both Sukaynah and this murdered son were from one mother whose name was Rubāb, the daughter of Imra' al-Qays. Imam Husayn loved his wife, as Rubāb loved her husband greatly. Ibn Athīr recounts: "After the martyrdom of the Imam, for a full year, she did not rest until she died in sorrow. During that hard year, she was always at the grave of Imam Husayn from early morning to evening, and then she used to return to Medina in sorrow, until she died in grief!"[271]

Muḥaddith Qumi and Abul Hasan Sha'rānī have said there are some hadiths to describe the battles of the Imam with enemies. After he saw seventy-two of his family members and friends killed, he turned his face toward the tents and called:

يَا سُكَينَةُ! يَا فَاطِمَةُ! يَا زَينَبُ! يَا أُمَّ كُلثُومَ! عَلَيكُنَّ مِنِّي السَّلَام

"O Sukaynah, O Fatimah, O Zaynab, O Umm Kulthūm, my peace be upon you!" And Sukaynah called out: "O Father! Have you surrendered to death!" Husayn answered:

كَيفَ لَا يَستَسلِمُ لِلمَوتِ مَن لَا نَاصِرَ لَهُ وَلَا مُعِينَ؟

"How would one not surrender to death while one has no supporter and helper?!"

فَأَقبَلَت سُكَينَةُ وَهِيَ صَارِخَةٌ وَكَانَ يُحِبُّهَا حُبًّا شَدِيدا.

The Imam then kissed Sukaynah while she was mourning and crying aloud. The Imam loved this girl excessively, more than anyone else. He then hugged her and said:

سَيَطُولُ بَعْدِی يَا سُكَيْنَةُ فَاعْلَمِی   مِنْكِ الْبُكَاءُ إِذَا الْحِمَامُ دَهَانِی 1
لَا تُحْرِقِی قَلْبِی بِدَمْعِكِ حَسْرَةً   مَا دَامَ مِنِّی الرُّوحُ فِی جُثْمَانِی 2
فَإِذَا قُتِلْتُ فَأَنْتِ أَوْلَى بِالَّذِی   تَبْكِينَهُ يَا خَيْرَةَ النِّسْوَانِ 3[272]

O Sukaynah, know that after me, your crying will last for long, until the calamity of death meets me.
Do not let my heart burn and wear out, by your drops of tears, as long as my soul is in my body!
And O you, the best among the ladies, after I pass away, you deserve more than anyone else to weep upon me!

The Martyrdom of Ali al-Akbar

Ali al-Akbar was the eldest son of Imam Husayn. He was twenty-five years old at the time of 'Ashūrā. He was married and had children.[273] His appearance, structure, and moral attitude were similar to those of his grandfather, the Prophet.

In *al-Irshād*, Shaykh Mufid narrated that his mother, Laylā, the daughter of Abu Murrat Ibn Orwat Ibn Mas'ūd Thaqafi, was from the tribe of Banī Thaqīf. His grandfather, Orwat Ibn Mas'ūd, was one of the two great men whom the Qur'an refers to as follows:

وَقَالُوا لَوْلَا نُزِّلَ هَذَا الْقُرْآنُ عَلَى رَجُلٍ مِنَ الْقَرْيَتَيْنِ عَظِيمٍ

...and they said, "Why was this Qur'an not sent down to some important men from either the two towns [of Mecca and Ṭā'if]!" (43: 31).

Shaykh Mufid continues:

> And he is the same person that the pagans of Quraysh sent to the Prophet on the day of Ḥudaybiyya to make the peace treaty with the Prophet. Then in the year 9 of immigration, after the Prophet returned from Ṭā'if, he embraced Islam. Later on, he asked the Prophet to let him join his family and relatives. He was given permission to leave, and when he was in his hometown, he invited his family to embrace Islam. However, one of his relatives shot him and killed him when he was praying. Before long, the news reached the Prophet, and he said: "Orwat is like faithful man described in the verse of Yāsīn who invited his tribe to God but they killed him!"

Jazarī, in *Usd al-Ghābah*, has narrated from Abbās, saying that the Prophet, may God's blessing be upon him, and his Household, stated:

أَرْبَعَةُ سَادَةٌ فِي الإِسْلَامِ: بِشْرُ بْنُ هِلَالٍ عَبْدِي، وَعَدِيُّ بْنُ حَاتِمٍ طائي، وَسُرَاقَةُ بْنُ مَالِكٍ مُدْلِجِي، وَ
عُرْوَةُ بْنُ مَسْعُود ثَقَفِي

"There are four great men (*Sayyid*), in Islam: Bishr Ibn Hilāl 'Abdī, 'Addī Ibn Ḥātam Ṭā'ī, Surāqat Ibn Mālik Mudlajī, and Orwat Ibn Mas'ūd Thaghafī."

And Jazarī, in his *Malhūf 'ala Qatlayay al-Ṭufūf*, says

مِنْ أَصْبَحِ النَّاسِ وَجْهاً وَأَحْسَنِهِمْ خُلْقاً، فَاسْتَأْذَنَ أَبَاهُ فِي الْقِتَالِ، فَأَذِنَ لَهُ، ثُمَّ نَظَرَ إِلَيْهِ نَظَرَ آيِسٍ مِنْهُ وَأَرْخَى
عليه السلام عَيْنَهُ وَبَكَى

"He [Ali Akbar, peace be upon him], who was the most good-looking [young man], the best creature and with a good moral attitude, asked his father to allow him to participate in the battle. His father permitted him to fight, while looking at him mournfully, and then turned his face and cried."

In his *Maqtal*, Muhammad Ibn Abi Ṭālib has narrated:

إِنَّهُ عليه السلام رَفَعَ شَيْبَتَهُ نَحْوَ السَّمَاءِ وَقَالَ: اللَّهُمَّ اشْهَدْ عَلَى هَؤُلَاءِ الْقَوْمِ فَقَدْ بَرَزَ إِلَيْهِمْ غُلَامٌ أَشْبَهُ
النَّاسِ خَلْقاً وَخُلْقاً وَمَنْطِقاً بِرَسُولِكَ. كُنَّا إِذَا اشْتَقْنَا إِلَى نَبِيِّكَ نَظَرْنَا إِلَى وَجْهِهِ.
اللَّهُمَّ امْنَعْهُمْ بَرَكَاتِ الارْضِ، وَفَرِّقْهُمْ تَفْرِيقاً، وَمَزِّقْهُمْ تَمْزِيقاً، وَاجْعَلْهُمْ طَرَائِقَ قِدَداً، وَلَا تُرْضِ
الْوُلَاةَ عَنْهُمْ أَبَداً، فَإِنَّهُمْ دَعَوْنَا لِيَنْصُرُونَا ثُمَّ عَدَوْا عَلَيْنَا يُقَاتِلُونَنَا.

The Holiness turned his gaze to heaven and implored:

> O my God! Bear witness of this tribe, how this young man who has set forth to fight with them is similar to your Prophet in his physical appearance, his attitude, and his voice. He is so similar to your Prophet that whenever we missed the Prophet we looked at him. O God, withhold from them from your blessing in this land! Do scatter them about; set up an extreme separation among them! Let not their rulers be pleased with them! They were invited here to support us, but now everyone has turned against us to fight!

After this statement by Imam, Ali Akbar went to the battlefield, and he cried out to Omar Ibn Sa'd:

مَالَكَ؟ قَطَعَ اللهُ رَحِمَكَ، وَلَا بَارَكَ اللهُ لَكَ فِي أَمْرِكَ، وَسَلَّطَ عَلَيْكَ مَنْ يَذْبَحُكَ بَعْدِي عَلَى فِرَاشِكَ كَمَا قَطَعْتَ رَحِمِي وَلَمْ تَحْفَظْ قَرَابَتِي مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم. ثُمَّ رَفَعَ صَوْتَهُ وَتَلَا: إِنَّ اللهَ اصْطَفَى آدَمَ وَنُوحًا وَآلَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَآلَ عِمْرَانَ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ. ذُرِّيَّةً بَعْضُهَا مِنْ بَعْضٍ وَاللهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ.[274]

"What are you doing? May God cut off your lineage![275] May He not bless you in your affairs, and, after me, may He appoint someone over you to behead you in your bed—as you cut off my lineage and did not respect my blood relation with the Prophet!"

Then he raised his voice and recited this verse: ...*Surely God from among the people chose Adam and Noah, and Abraham's household and the household of Imrān; [some are] the offspring of one another; and God is All-hearing, All-knowing* (3: 33–4).

Ṣadūq in *Amālī* and Fatāl Nishaburi in *Rawḍat al-Wā'izīn* say:

Ali Akbar set forth to fight after Abdullah Ibn Muslim Ibn 'Aqīl, so Husayn looked at him and said:

اللَّهُمَّ كُنْ أَنْتَ الشَّهِيدَ عَلَيْهِمْ فَقَدْ بَرَزَ إِلَيْهِمْ ابْنُ رَسُولِكَ وَأَشْبَهُ النَّاسِ وَجْهًا وَسَمْتًا بِهِ

"O God! You bear witness that now the son of Your Messenger has gone to fight with this tribe. He is the most similar person to the Prophet! His face looks like him and his character, virtue, and behavior are alike to the Prophet's!"

Muhammad Ibn Abi Ṭālib says:

The Holiness raised his hand and pointed his index finger to heaven (and in another copy it is said that he held his beard in his hand) and implored God. The poet expresses the Imam's intimate conversation with God at that moment as follows:

شه عشاق، خلاق محاسن   به کف بگرفت آن نیکو محاسن
به آه و ناله گفت: ای داور من   سوی میدان کین شد اکبر من
به خلق و خلق آن رفتار و کردار   بُد این نورسته همچون شاه مختار.[276]

The King of the lovers, the holder of the whole of goodness, touched his beard with hand,

Saying in deep sorrow: "O my Judge! [Witness that] my Akbar has set forth to the battlefield,
In good character and virtue, this young man was like the King [Prophet]!"

And then Ali Akbar got ready to fight and began to recite:

أَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ الْحُسَيْنِ بْنِ عَلِي ... نَحْنُ وَبَيْتِ اللهِ أَوْلَى بِالنَّبِيْ
مِنْ شَبَثٍ وَشِمْرٍ ذَاكَ الدَّنِي ... أَضْرِبُكُمْ بِالسَّيْفِ حَتَّى يَنْثَنِي
ضَرْبَ غُلَامٍ هَاشِمِيٍّ عَلَوِيّ ... وَلَا أَزَالُ الْيَوْمَ أَحْمِي عَنْ أَبِي
تَاللهِ لَا يَحْكُمُ فِينَا ابْنُ الدَّعِي

I am Ali Ibn al-Husayn, Ibn Ali! I swear by the House of God that we are more deserving of the Prophet than Shabath and that lowly man, Shimr. I will strike you with the sword until my sword rolls up!
This is the striking of a young man, from the Hāshimite, the day I defend my Father!
I swear by God that I will not allow the bastard Ibn Zīyād to judge and command us.

He ended his recitation, and then invaded the arm of the enemy.

In *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā,* it is narrated: "He attacked fiercely twelve times and killed many soldiers of the enemy, so that the rest expressed their horror by making noises."

It is narrated that although Ali Akbar was greatly thirsty, he killed 120 of his enemy.

Manāqib narrates:

He killed seventy men from the army, then returned to his father, while he was badly wounded and said:

يا أَبَهْ: الْعَطَشُ قَدْ قَتَلَنِي وَ ثِقْلُ الْحَدِيدِ أجْهَدَنِي، فَهَلْ إِلَى شَرْبَةٍ مِنْ مَاءٍ سَبِيلٌ أَتَقَوَّى بِهَا عَلَى الاعداءِ؟

"O father! I am dying of thirst, and the heaviness of this chainmail is taking away my strength. Now is there anything to drink so I may find energy to continue fighting?"[277]

فَبَكَى الْحُسَيْنُ عليه السّلام وَقَالَ: وَاغَوْثَاهُ! يَابُنَيَّ قَاتِلْ قَلِيلاً! فَمَا أَسْرَعَ مَاتَلْقَى جَدَّكَ مُحَمَّداً صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم فَيَسْقِيَكَ بِكَأْسِهِ الاَوْفَى شَرْبَةً لَا تَظْمَأُ بَعْدَهَا أَبَداً !

And Husayn kept weeping and then said: "O my beloved, O my sweet son! Do fight a little more; then you will meet your grandfather very soon! Your grandfather, Muhammad, will quench your thirst with a full bowl of water, and you will never suffer thirst anymore in the future."[278]

Ali Akbar returned to the battlefield once again while saying:

الْحَرْبُ قَدْ بَانَتْ لَهَا الْحَقَايِقُ   وَظَهَرَتْ مِنْ بَعْدِهَا مَصَادِقُ
وَاللهِ رَبِّ الْعَرْشِ لَا نُفَارِقُ   جُمُوعَكُمْ أَوْ تُغْمَدَ الْبَوَارِقِ.

It is the battle that reveals the essences of men, and rightness will be manifest at the end of battle.
And I swear by God, the Lord of the Throne, we will not keep away from this people until their swords are sheathed!

He kept fighting ceaselessly until he had killed two hundred fighters of the enemy.

Soon after, Murrat Ibn Munqidh Ibn Nu'umān 'Abdī Laythī caught sight of him and said: "I am in charge of all Arabs, so if the young man comes to me, I will kill him and make his father suffer over him!" Having said this, he went to Ali with his sword in hand.

Irshād and Ṭabarī narrate: "Murrat stood in his way and swiftly threw his spear at him and made him fall down from the horse. The enemies gathered around his body and cut his body into pieces."

Abu al-Faraj says: "It was then Ali cried out in pain, saying: 'O Father, now goodbye to you! Now I can see my grandfather, the Prophet, is saluting both of us and saying: "Do hurry up and join us!"' Then after another loud cry, he passed away."

In some *Maqātils*, it is narrated that Munfidh Ibn Murrat 'Abdī—may God's curse be on him—struck him with a sword on the head and he fell off his horse, and then the other fighters kept striking him with their swords. In the meantime, Ali held on to the horse by the neck, and it carried him around in the battlefield, in front of the enemies.

فَقَطَّعُوهُ بِسُيُوفِهِمْ إِرْباً إِرْباً. فَلَمَّا بَلَغَتِ الرُّوحُ التَّرَاقِيَ، قَالَ رَافِعاً صَوْتَهُ: يَا أَبَتَاهُ! هَذَا جَدِّي رَسُولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه و آله و سلم قَدْ سَقَانِي بِكَأْسِهِ الأَوْفَى شَرْبَةً لَا أَظْمَأُ بَعْدَهَا أَبَداً وَ هُوَ يَقُولُ: العَجَلَ! العَجَلَ! فَإِنَّ لَكَ كَأْساً مَذْخُورَةً حَتَّى تَشْرَبَهَا السَّاعَةَ!

So they chopped him into small pieces with their swords; and when Ali's soul was separating from his body, he cried out loudly, saying: "O my greatest Father! There! He is my grandfather, the Messenger of God, I can see him...he is telling me: 'Do hurry up, hurry up! There is a bowl of water prepared for you to drink here with us!'"

Regarding this tragic event, a poet has composed an elegy in Fārsī. The translation of his poem is as follows:

After going to the battlefield, I wonder what happened, I do not know who was taken and where!
The only thing I know about it is that the pure body of the soul of the souls, like the verses of the Qur'an, was chopped into pieces!
When the dearest son of the King went away from his hand, the King hastened to find where he had gone.
But he was in the battlefield, killing the enemies on both sides, and in the meantime a voice from Naynawā was calling: "Beware!"
He [the king] saw his son like an eagle with broken wings, falling down off the horse.
His head was bare, and cut in the middle, his soul had flown to the beloved, and the body was left behind!
To him reached the Prophet in glory, like the night he had ascended high into heaven,
Saying to that lying soulless one: "So from now on let the world lose its happiness!"

Ḥamīd Ibn Muslim says:

On that day, I lent my ears to Husayn and heard him say:

قَتَلَ اللهُ قَوْماً قَتَلُوكَ يَا بُنَيَّ! مَا أَجْرَأَهُمْ عَلَى الرَّحْمَنِ وَ عَلَى انْتِهَاكِ حُرْمَةِ الرَّسُولِ. وَ انْهَمَلَتْ عَيْنَاهُ بِالدُّمُوعِ ثُمَّ قَالَ: عَلَى الدُّنْيَا بَعْدَكَ العَفَا![279]

"May God kill the people who killed you! O my son! How dare they do such a thing against God and violate the sanctity of the Household!" It was then that tears ran down from the eyes of Imam while he said: "After you, shame on the world and the life!"

The poet continues:

> When the life of the beloved son of the King ended, the bereaved father set forth to find him somewhere; he searched for his body and finally found him and his body covered by his blood.
>
> When they took this, the most similar person to the Prophet, to the tent, Haydar's daughter [Zaynab] came out of the tent. She was approaching the corpse and was followed by the other sorrowful women.
>
> As soon as [her mother] Laylā,[280] saw the corpse, she let out a violent cry and then lost consciousness.
>
> ***
>
> He [the Imam] laid his head on the lap of his sweet son and told him: "O my proud son! O you, the illuminating star in my life, why did you fall prey in this event? O you, the glorious one, now stand up so that once more I see your beautiful figure!
>
> "Do not injure my heart any more, O you, son of Laylā, do not make me more sad than I am!
>
> "O you, dearest gazelle of mine, by seeing you, my eyes used to be cured and see the world!
>
> "Now you have gone and taken with you the strength of you father; O Akbar, without you I wish not to see the world anymore.
>
> "You took a journey and got rid of the agonies of the world; however, I am still involved within the sorrows!"

***

In an Arabic poem, the poet says:

يَاكَوْكَباً مَاكَانَ أَقْصَرَ عُمْرَهُ وَكَذَا تَكُونُ كَوَاكِبُ الاسْحَارِ 1

عَجِلَ الْخُسُوفُ إِلَيْهِ قَبْلَ أَوَانِهِ فَغَشَاهُ قَبْلَ مَظَنَّةِ الإِبْدَارِ[281] 2

إِنَّ الْكَوَاكِبَ فِي مَحَلِّ عُلُوِّهَا لَتُرَى صِغَاراً وَهِيَ غَيْرُ صِغَارِ 3

أَبْكِيهِ ثُمَّ أَقُولُ مُعْتَذِراً لَهُ رَفَقْتَ حِينَ تَرَكْتَ أَلْأَمَ دَارِ 4

فَإِذَا نَطَقْتُ فَأَنْتَ أَوَّلُ مَنْطِقِي وَإِذَا سَكَتُّ فَأَنْتَ فِي مِزْمَارِي[282] 5

> O you, the divine star! How short was the span of your life! And so are the stars that start shining at Dawn.
> His eclipse before its due time, and before becoming a full moon, it faded away.
> It is true, the habit of the stars is to be high in the sky: they seem small, but they are actually great!
> I cry over him [which I should not], and for my past tears to him, I ask for his forgiveness and say: "You are free from sorrow now, you left this mean world and joined to the Hereafter!"
> Therefore, if I open my mouth to say something, the first word to say is about you; and if I close my mouth, you are still within my windpipe trying to pang out!

Muḥaddith Qumi, from Ṭabarī, Abu al-Faraj, and Ibn Ṭāwūs, who narrates from Shaykh Mufīd, say:

> خَرَجَتْ زَيْنَبُ اختُ الْحُسَيْنِ عليه السّلام مُسْرِعَةً تُنَادِي: يَا اخَيَّاهُ وَابْنَ اخَيَّاهُ! وَجَاءَتْ حَتَّى أَكَبَّتْ عَلَيْهِ. فَأَخَذَ الْحُسَيْنُ عليه السّلام بِرَأْسِهَا فَرَدَّهَا إِلَى الْفُسْطَاطِ وَأَمَرَ فِتْيَانَهُ فَقَالَ: احْمِلُوا أَخَاكُمْ (وفي ط وج) فَحَمَلُوهُ مِنْ مَصْرَعِهِ حَتَّى وَضَعُوهُ بَيْنَ يَدَيِ الْفُسْطَاطِ الَّذِي كَانُوا يُقَاتِلُونَ أَمَامَهُ.

> Zaynab, the daughter of Husayn, rushed out from the tent shouting: "O my dearest brother! O the apple of my eye!" And then got closer and dropped herself on the corpse of her brother. Husayn took hold of her arm and returned her to the tent, and in the meantime, commanded the youth to bring the corpse of their brother into the tent. They carried out his order and brought the corpse close to the tent. They laid it at the entrance to the tent while the battle was going on a few yards away.

The grandfather of Ayatollah Abul Hasan Sha'rānī has composed a few lines on this event as follows:

> Out from the tent came a shining sun, which has never been seen before by anyone!
>
> However, the sun was searching to find his star alive once more, while she was mourning and weeping!

Ṭurayhī says:

> It is narrated that in the hot land of Karbala, when Ali Ibn al-Husayn was killed, Husayn went toward him who had on chainmail, under that

wearing a robe and a red turban on his head. Husayn looked at his body lying on the ground and said:

أَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا بُنَيَّ فَقَدِ اسْتَرَحْتَ مِنْ كَرْبِ الدُّنْيَا وَغَمِّهَا وَمَا أَسْرَعَ اللُّحُوقَ بِكَ !

"O my dearest son! Certainly you have been set free from the sorrow and adversity of this world; and before long I will join you!"

Muḥaddith Qumi, after reporting similar incidents about the martyrdom of Ali Akbar, asserts that he is the first martyr from the Household of Sayyid al-Shuhadā on that day. To prove this, he quotes from Mukhtār Ṭabarī, Jazarī Isfahani, Dīnwarī, Shaykh Mufīd, and Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs as well as some others historians. He says:

Another piece of evidence for this assertion is a prayer called *ziyārat al-Mushtamila* in which he is mentioned as the first martyr.

السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ يَا أَوَّلَ قَتِيلٍ مِنْ نَسْلِ خَيْرِ سَلِيلٍ!

"Peace be upon you, O the first martyr from the purest progeny, [the Prophet]."[283]

Muḥaddith Qumi also says that there is a disagreement on his age, but what is certain is that he was the eldest son of the Imam. Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Idrīs Ḥillī, at the end of the chapter on *ḥajj* in his book, *al-Sarā'ir,* says:

Whenever, as a pilgrim, you visit Imam Abi Abdullah al-Husayn, do make a visit to his son Ali Akbar as well. Ali Akbar, whose mother is Laylā, the daughter of Abu Murrat Ibn Orwat Ibn Mas'ūd Thaqafi, is the first martyr among the household of Abi Ṭālib on the day of Karbala. He was born at the time of Othman's caliphate. Ali Akbar used to narrate the hadith from his grandfather, Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib. The poets have also praised Ali Akbar. It is narrated from Abu 'Obaydah and Khalaf Aḥmar that the following elegy was composed about Ali Akbar, the son of Imam Husayn:

لَمْ تَرَ عَيْنٌ نَظَرَتْ مِثْلَهُ   مِنْ مُحْتَفٍ يَمْشِي وَلَا نَاعِلِ
يُغْلِي بَنِيءَ اللَّحْمِ حَتَّى إِذَا   انْضَجَ، لَمْ يَغْلُ عَلَى الْآكِلِ
كَانَ إِذَا شَبَّتْ لَهُ نَارُهُ   يُوقِدُهَا بِالشَّرَفِ الْكَامِلِ
كَيْمَا يَرَاهَا بَائِسٌ مُرْمِلٌ   أَوْ فَرْدُ حَيٍّ لَيْسَ بِالْآهِلِ
أَعْنِي ابْنَ لَيْلَى ذَا السَّدَى وَالنَّدَى   أَعْنِي ابْنَ بِنْتِ الْحَسَبِ الْفَاضِلِ

لَايُؤثِرُ الدُّنيَاعَلَى دِينِهِ　　　وَلَا يَبِيعُ الحَقَّ بِالْبَاطِلِ

Never has a man sighted one like him from among those who are wearing the shoes [rich] or are the barefoot [poor].

The raw meat is put on the fire to be boiled and properly cooked so that the guests can eat it joyfully (not to keep the guests waiting until the food is prepared)!

And it was his custom that when they made a fire for him, he respectfully blew on it and made it flame, so that if a needy person was hungry and was looking for something to eat, he could join him for food.

[By this poem] I am referring to the son of Laylā, who is the source of generosity, blessing, and forgiving. Yes, I mean the son of Laylā, the honorable and noble one!

He does not choose this world and put off his Hereafter; he does not sell the right to get false.

Concerning this matter, Muḥaddith Qumi says:

A good witness to this event is Abu al-Faraj Isfahani, who has narrated from Mughīra, saying that Mu'āwīyah had asked his companions:

مَنْ أَحَقُّ النَّاسِ بِهَذَا الامرِ؟؛ قَالُوا: أَنتَ!
قَالَ: لَا؛ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِهَذَا الامرِ عَلِيُّ بْنُ الحُسَيْنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ جَدُّهُ رَسولُ اللهِ صلّى الله عليه و آله وسلم، وَفِيهِ شَجَاعَةُ بَنِي هَاشِمٍ، وَسَخَاءُ بَنِي امَيَّةَ، وَزَهْوُ ثَقِيفٍ.

"Who deserves this caliphate the most?" They answered: "You." He said: "No, Ali Ibn al-Husayn is the best person for this position. His grandfather is the Prophet. He is the bravest man amongst Banī Hāshim, and the generosity of Banī Umayyad, and the beauty of Thaqif!"

Mu'āwīyah's View on Ali Akbar

The foregoing elegy and above statement of praise about Ali Akbar from Mu'āwīyah are compelling evidence that Ali Akbar was not eighteen years old, because this kind of praise from the caliphate and poets cannot be for a young man at this low age.

Abu Ja'far Ṭabarī, in *Ḍayl al-Muḍayyal* on the history of the Prophet's Companions and followers (*Tābi'īn*) says:

Ali's mother is Āminah the daughter of Abu Murrat Ibn Orwat Ibn Mas'ūd. And Āminah's mother is the daughter of Abu Sufyān. And concerning the praise of Ali Akbar's mother, Hassān Ibn Thābit has said:

طَافَتْ بِنَا شَمْسُ النَّهَارِ وَمَنْ رَأى   مِنَ النَّاسِ شَمْساً بِالْعِشَاءِ تَطُوفُ؟

أَبُوامُّهَا أَوْفَى قُرَيْشٍ بِذِمَّةٍ   وَأَعْمَامُهَا إِمَّا سَأَلْتَ ثَقِيف.

The sun does this at night?

His parents are the most faithful to their promises; if you want to know his maternal uncles, ask the Thaqīf tribe.

Some people have attributed this two-line poem to Omar Ibn Rabī'ah, and instead of

شَمْسُ النَّهَار

(the sun of midday), they have narrated

شَمْسُ الْعِشَاء

(the sun of night).[284]

The background of the Holiness Ali Akbar is that Mu'āwīyah is the brother of Laylā's mother, and this is the reason that he reveals his thoughts on Ali Akbar and that he deserve to be caliph.

However, the supposition that the generosity of Ali Akbar is due to the fact that he is related to Mu'āwīyah is totally wrong, because Mu'āwīyah was not generous with his own money; rather he used to give away excessive money to certain people, from the public treasury, which belongs to the nation, and this cannot be considered generosity.

In any case, whatever we explained in this discussion has made clear that the Holiness Ali Akbar was not an out-of-the-ordinary person with a brazen body so that the sword and spear did not affect him. He says about himself: "O dearest father, I am suffering to death of thirst, and the heaviness of my chainmail does not let me take a step forward!" Nor did his father have water to give him to drink! And the Imam did not want to perform any out-of-the-ordinary actions, for example by means of a miracle, to provide water for him, because if he had done so, then the story of Karbala and their martyrdom would not be as it is now.

Imam Husayn is the man about whom the Prophet stated:

وَإنَّ لَكَ فِي الْجِنَانِ لَدَرَجَاتٍ لَنْ تَنَالَهَا إلَّا بِالشَّهَادَةِ[285]

"...and certainly in Paradise there is a high position, which you cannot achieve without martyrdom!"

It means that the destiny that he had to carry out step by step was already preplanned for him. In order to reach this destiny, he had to struggle, suffer, bear torture and thirst, and sacrifice his son Ali Akbar and other members of his family.

It was as if he learned by inspiration that his son Ali Abkar must be his close companion on this journey. In this way, in order to irrigate the root of Islam and destroy the government of the Banī Umayyad and its corrupt rulers, Mu'āwīyah, Yazīd, and Banī Marwān must be taken out of power! In this way, all the people could understand who was on the straight path.

In any case, after Ali Akbar returned to the battlefield with such acute thirst and a wounded body in that very hot summer, he did not care how hard the situation was. His bravely surprised his enemies. He was constantly saying: "I am fighting to protect my father," while he was battling and killing the enemies on both his right and left sides. Due to this bravery, it is narrated that martyrs and the righteous will envy his position on the Day of Judgment.

Ali Akbar's Conversation with Imam Husayn about Martyrdom

Muḥaddith Qumi has narrated from *Irshād* of Shaykh Mufid:

> Once late at night, on their way to Karbala, Imam Husayn commanded his companions to fill up their waterskins with water. Then they set out and left the region called Qaṣr Banī Maqātil behind.
>
> 'Aqabat Ibn Sam'ān says:
>
>> We followed the Imam for an hour or so, and then the Holiness felt a bit sleepy and had a brief nap on his horse. His nap did not last long before he woke up and said:
>>
>> إِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ
>>
>> "Indeed we are from God, and indeed our return is to Him—and praise be to God, the Lord of the [two] worlds!"
>>
>> The Holiness repeated this twice or three times. And at that moment, his son Ali Ibn al-Husayn, who was riding on his horse, got closer to his Father and asked:
>>
>> مِمَّ حَمِدْتَ اللّٰهَ وَاسْتَرْجَعْتَ؟

"Why did you praise God and recite the *istirjā'* (when we verify, to Allah we belong and to Him we shall return)?"

The Holiness replied:

يَا بُنَيَّ: إِنِّي خَفَقْتُ خَفْقَةً فَعَنَّ ـ أَيْ ظَهَرَ ـ لِي فَارِسٌ عَلَى فَرَسٍ وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: الْقَوْمُ يَسِيرُونَ وَالْمَنَايَا تَسِيرُ إِلَيْهِمْ. فَعَلِمْتُ: أَنَّهَا أَنْفُسُنَا نُعِيَتْ إِلَيْنَا!

"O my dear son! On the way here, I napped a bit on the horse, and I saw in my sleep a man riding on a horse, who appeared to me saying that this tribe is moving on, and death is following it! Therefore, I understood that it was the news of our death being given to us!"

His son said:

يَا أَبَهْ: لَا أَرَاكَ اللهُ سُوءًا، أَلَسْنَا عَلَى الْحَقِّ؟!

"O Father! Heaven forbid! May Allah not predestine bad things for us! Are we not on the truth's side?"

The Imam stated:

بَلَى وَالَّذِي إِلَيْهِ مَرْجِعُ الْعِبَادِ

"Yes, by God to Whom is the return of the creatures, we are right!"

Ali Akbar said:

فَإِنَّنَا إِذاً لَا نُبَالِي أَنْ نَمُوتَ مُحِقِّينَ.

"In that case, we are not really afraid of death, because we are in the right!"

The Imam stated:

جَزَاكَ اللهُ مِنْ وَلَدٍ خَيْرَ مَا جَزَى وَلَداً عَنْ وَالِدِهِ.

"O my son, may God reward you, with the best reward that He may ever give to a son!"

When we see by means of historical evidence that the Imams move on the path of God by their own choice and fee will, and there were among their children some deviated ones like Abdullah Ibn Ja'far, Ja'far Ibn Hasan Kadhdhāb, and Mūsā Ibn Muhammad, as well as some others, then we cannot say that all the progeny of the Prophet and Banī Fatimah without exception are pure and their place is in Paradise! For the same reason, we cannot say that all the Banī Umayyad, with no exception, are of those dwelling in Hell!

According to history, there are few people from Banī Umayyad who had a tendency toward Imam Ali, and they seemed to be oppos-

ing the caliphate of Abu Bakr, Othman, and Mu'āwīyah. They tolerated torture and aggressions, and some of them were killed for their belief. Therefore, one cannot misjudge the Umayyad and their progeny, saying all of them were wretches and were sent to Hell! The following are a few stories about some Umayyads who were faithful to Imam Ali.

A Few of Banī Umayyad's People Were of the Followers of Ali

The first person is Khālid Ibn Sa'īd Ibn al-'Āṣ Ibn Umayyad Ibn 'Abd Shams Ibn 'Abd Manāf Ibn Quṣay Qurayshī Umawī. He was a noble person from Banī Umayyad and a Companion of the Prophet who supported Imam Ali in the dispute over the caliphate after the Prophet. He emigrated to Abyssinia with Ja'far and then returned with him.

He was present at the battle of Ṭā'if, the conquest of Mecca, and the war of Ḥunayn. Khālid was the representative of the Prophet to collect the charities. It was he who together with Najāshī, the King of Abyssinia, married Ḥabībah, the daughter of Abu Sufyān, to the Prophet in Abyssinia.

After the demise of the Prophet, in favor of the Imam Ali, Khālid did not swear allegiance to Abu Bakr. He was one of the twelve men who denied the caliphate of Abu Bakr and challenged him on this issue in the mosque.[286]

The second one is Muhammad Ibn Abi Ḥudhayfat Ibn 'Utbat Ibn Rabī'at Ibn 'Abd Shams. He was a cousin of Mu'āwīyah Ibn Abi Sufyān. However, he was a close friend and companion of Imam Ali. He was in the jail of Mu'āwīyah for a while. His argument with Mu'āwīyah after his release from the jail is very well known. Muḥaddith Qumi has mentioned it in detail, and at the end he says to Mu'āwīyah:

وَوَاللهِ لَا أَزَالُ احِبُّ عَلِيًّا لِلّٰهِ وَلِرَسُولِهِ، وَابْغِضُكَ فِي اللهِ وَفِي رَسُولِ اللهِ أَبَداً مَا بَقِيتُ!

"...and O Mu'āwīyah, by God! I love Ali forever for the sake of God and His Messenger, and I hate you for the case of God and His Messenger; I will remain the same!"

Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd has narrated: "'Amr 'Āṣ captured Muhammad Ibn Abi Ḥudhayfat in Egypt and sent him to Mu'āwīyah to imprison him, but he escaped from the prison after a short time. A man from the region of Khuth'am who was called Abdullah Ibn 'Amr Ibn Omar Ibn Zallām Othmānī searched for him and finally found him in a cave and killed him right away."[287]

The third one is Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn 'Amr Ibn Othmān, known as Muhammad Dībāj. He was the maternal brother of Abdullah Maḥḍ, Ibrahim Ghamr, and Hasan Muthallath, son of Fatimah. The daughter of Husayn, after a year after the death of her husband, Hasan Muthannā, had to marry Abdullah Ibn 'Amr Ibn Othmān because of his constant fight for her to marry him. The details of his fighting for this marriage have been mentioned in history.

Muhammad Dībāj was a faithful follower of the Household and was tortured and tolerated a great many hardships for being faithful to the Imam and was finally martyred for his faith.

He was a very close friend with his maternal brother, Abdullah Maḥḍ, and used to say to him: "To be honest, I hated your father, but because of your special character, I love you very much!"

Besides the three individuals mentioned above, there are many other people loyal to Shi'a Imams reported in the history, which due to the confines of our discussion here, we do not mention.

One may ask, why then in the famous supplication of 'Āshurā, do we say:

اللّهُمّ العَنْ بَنِی امَیّةَ قاطِبَةً

"O God! Do curse all Banī Umayyad!"

The answer is that this supplication refers to the majority of Umayyad followers of Yazīd, Mu'āwīyah, and Marwān, not to certain persons among them.[288]

At the end of this discussion, it would be appropriate to mention a hadith that Muḥaddith Qumi has narrated in his *Nafthat al-Maṣdūr*. This hadith, in a separate chapter, explains in detail the difficulties of battle in Karbala and Ali Akbar's commitment to sacrifice his life for his faith. The hadith also has good information about the different characters of Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn, and their brother Muhammad Ibn Ḥanafiyyah. There is a similar hadith in *Bihār al-Anwār* that is related from Ibn Abbās about some Companions as follows:

> When the battle of Ṣiffīn erupted, we were present, and we witnessed that Ali called his son Muhammad Ibn Ḥanafiyyah and told him: "O my dearest son! Do attack the army of Mu'āwīyah."
>
> Muhammad attacked the right wing of the army, killed some of the fighters, and was wounded. He returned victorious to his father, saying:
>
> یا أَبَتاهُ، العَطَش، العَطَش
>
> "O my father! I am dying of thirst!"

The Imam gave him some water and then poured the remaining water on his chainmail to cool his body.

Ibn Abbās says:

By God! I saw some pieces of his flesh were emerging from his chainmail! The Imam let him rest for a while and then told him:

"O my dearest son! Now do attack the left wing of the army!"

Muhammad obeyed his father and attacked the army from the left wing and killed as many fighters as he could. Again he returned to his father, but with more injuries on his body. His father attended to him by giving him some water to drink and then pouring some more on his hot chainmail. All the time, his son was saying:

"I am dying of thirst, do give me some water!"

The Imam told him: "Now, my dear son! Attack the middle of the army!"

Muhammad attacked the enemy and immediately killed many artilleries. Then he returned to his father and burst into tears!

The Imam gave him kisses on his forehead and said: "May your father be made a sacrifice to you! You have made me so happy with your brave fight! Then why are you crying? Is this crying for your happiness, or your fright of the enemies?"

Muhammad Ibn Ḥanafiyyah said: "Why should I not cry? I was about to die three times, but God did not accept my death! Now, as you see, all my body is wounded! I returned to you three times, but you did not let me rest for a while, whereas these brothers of mine, Hasan and Husayn, are sitting there, but you did not let them fight!"

Imam Ali rose to his feet and gave him some kisses on the face and said: "O my dear son! You are my own son, while they belong to the Prophet. Now is it not right that I am saving them?"

Muhammad said: "Yes, you are right, dear father! May God make me a sacrifice to you and save them from evil!"

Muḥaddith Qumi says:

At the battle of Ṣiffīn, when his brother Muhammad kept saying to his father, Ali: "I am too thirsty, I am dying of thirst!" Imam Husayn was

witnessing how Ali had given him water to drink, and poured some on his chainmail and his wounded body so as to cool him. Now, see how the condition of Husayn was on the Day of 'Āshurā, when he saw his son, Ali Ibn al-Husayn, was returning from the battlefield, who had excessive wounds and injuries on his body and was saying:

يَاأَبَهْ الْعَطَشُ قَدْ قَتَلَنِي وَثِقْلُ الْحَدِيدِ أَجْهَدَنِي

"O my father! The thirst is really killing me, and the heaviness of the chainmail is unbearable!" He complained of his thirst and the extreme heat of his chainmail touching his wounded body. But Husayn had no water available to quench his son's thirst and to cool his burning body!

Here, the Imam cried and said:

وَاغَوْثَاهُ! يَابُنَيَّ قَاتِلْ قَلِيلاً فَمَا أَسْرَعَ مَا تَلْقَى جَدَّكَ مُحَمَّداً صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم فَيَسْقِيَكَ
بِكَأْسِهِ الاوْفَى شَرْبَةً لَا تَظْمَأُ بَعْدَهَا أَبَداً

"O my son! Do tolerate this a bit more; the battle is coming to an end, and you will soon meet your grandfather, Muhammad, may God's blessing be upon him and his Household, and then he will give you a bowl of water and quench your thirst—you will drink such joyful water and will never get thirsty after that!"

Muhadith Qumi continues, saying:

Ali Akbar was brought up by his uncle, Hasan, and his father Husayn, so in Kāfi, Tahdhīb, and *Man lā Yahḍurhu al-Faqīh* we have this statement:

السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ يَابْنَ الْحَسَنِ وَالْحُسَيْنِ

"Peace be upon you! O the son of al-Hasan and al-Husayn."

Then Qumi says:

Some famous historical books on the event of Karbala have quoted:

Sayyid al-Shuhadā held his beard with his hand and turned his face toward heaven and whispered supplication such as: "O God, a great disaster has befallen me and I take my complaint only to You!" In such a situation, this body language of the Imam shows how severe his agony was.

Similar to Qumi, the master of al-Muḥaddithin, Abu Ja'far Ibn Bābwayh Qumi, has addressed this subject.[289]

The aforementioned statement of Muḥaddith Qumi leads us to the knowledge that Ali Akbar was trained and brought up by two Imams, so he benefited from virtues and teachings of both Imams.

Here we finish volume 15 of *Knowing the Imams,* but at the end of the volume it seems appropriate to address some valuable statements of Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' concerning the event of Āshūrā, from the book of *Jannat al-Ma'wā.*

التضحية في ضاحية الطف

Self-Sacrifice on the Battlefield of Karbala

By his self-sacrifice through which the martyr Imam attained so lofty a rank and ascended to a higher realm on the day of al-Ṭaff in Karbala, we can learn lessons about wisdom, virtue, and guidance. This makes every man feel humble and admire the Imam and his companions!

The poet says:

كالبدر من حيث التفت ... وجدته يهدي إلى عينيك نوراً ثاقبا

"He looks like the full moon from any angle you look at it, which brings its bright light into your eyes!"

Similarly, he says:

كالشمس في كبد السماء ونورها ... يغشى البلاد مشارقاً ومغاربا

"He is like the sun in the middle of the sky whose light brightens everywhere—from the east to west."

Elsewhere, the poet says:

كالبحر يمنح للقريب جواهراً ... غرراً ويبعث للبعيد سحائبا

"He is like the sea giving its neighbor precious gems and sending rain-bearing clouds as blessing to those living far away!"

This is the material world of excessive attractions and charming enjoyments, passions, lust, and fashions for which people fight with each other, the world in which people kill others to accumulate more of what is unneeded, and the world that every single person has taken as his own god and beloved and then has become a slave to. This world has beguiled man and woman. God has stated about this charming worldly life:

زُيِّنَ لِلنَّاسِ حُبُّ الشَّهَوَاتِ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ وَالْبَنِينَ وَالْقَنَاطِيرِ الْمُقَنْطَرَةِ مِنَ الذَّهَبِ وَالْفِضَّةِ وَالْخَيْلِ الْمُسَوَّمَةِ

...glamorized to people is the love of [diverse] passions, as women and children, or accumulating gold and silver treasures, and branded [with marks] horses, livestock and farm[s!] (3:13).

All these worldly precious things were available to Husayn: property, social position, a decent family, very costly, unique branded horses, and above all, his lofty position by which God honored him. However, he gave all this fame and position away and sacrificed himself for the sake of his beloved Creator, the Almighty, in the battlefield of Karbala! He dedicated to the holy presence not only his soul but the souls of his dearest ones.

وَبِمَاشِئْتَ فِى هَوَاكَ اخْتَبِرْنِى فَاخْتِيَارِى مَاكَانَ فِيهِ رِضَاكَا [1]
يُحْشَرُ الْعَاشِقُونَ تَحْتَ لِوَانى وَجَمِيعُ الْمِلَاحِ تَحْتَ لِوَاكَا [2]
وَاقْتِبَاسُ الانْوَارِ مِنْ ظَاهِرِى غَي رُ عَجِيبٍ وَبَاطِنِى مَأْوَاكَا [3]

Do test me how You wish, my passion and love, because I have no choice except Your satisfaction.
All the lovers under the auspices of my flag and the entire beauties under Your Flag!
This illuminating light from my outward is not odd, for Your Abode is within my heart!

The Elegy of Farazdaq about Imam Sajjād

In the present volume, we discussed the content of *al-Saḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah* of Imam Sajjād, Ali Ibn al-Hasan, so it would be good to address an elegy of the great poet Abu Firās Hammām Ibn Ghālib, known as Farazdaq, who has composed the following poem in the presence of Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān in praise of the Prophet.

'Allāmah Majlisī, in *Bihār al-Anwār*, has narrated from *Manāqib* of Ibn Shar Āshūb from Ḥilyah and from Aghāī and some other people:[290]

> Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik was on *ḥajj*, which was very crowded that year, and he could not touch the Ḥajar al-Aswad (the black stone embedded in the wall of the holy Ka'ba). In the meantime, the people prepared a pulpit. As soon as he climbed it and the people of Shām came together by the pulpit, Imam Ali Ibn al-Husayn, with pilgrim's garb and a luminous visage, arrived in area of the Ka'ba. He started turning around the Ka'ba, and as he approached Hajar al-Aswad, people pushed back and gave way for him to touch it.
>
> A Shāmī man asked Hishām: "Who is this man, O Master of the Faithful?"
>
> Hishām answered: "I don't know who he is!" He said so to save the Imam from the people of Shām!
>
> Farazdaq, one of the poets of Banī Umayyad, who was present there, said to the man: "But I know him!" Then the Shāmī man asked: "Let me know who he is!"

Farazdaq answered his question by the following lengthy poem that he composed there:

يَا سَائِلِي: أَيْنَ حَلَّ الْجُودُ وَالْكَرَمُ عِنْدِي بَيَانٌ إِذَا طُلَّابُهُ قَدِمُوا 1
هَذَا الَّذِي تَعْرِفُ الْبَطْحَاءُ وَطْأَتَهُ وَالْبَيْتُ يَعْرِفُهُ وَالْحِلُّ وَالْحَرَمُ 2
هَذَا ابْنُ خَيْرِ عِبَادِ اللهِ كُلِّهِمُ هَذَا التَّقِيُّ النَّقِيُّ الطَّاهِرُ الْعَلَمُ 3
هَذَا الَّذِي أَحْمَدُ الْمُخْتَارُ وَالِدُهُ صَلَّى عَلَيْهِ إِلَهِي مَا جَرَى الْقَلَمُ 4
لَوْ يَعْلَمُ الرُّكْنُ مَنْ قَدْ جَاءَ يَلْثِمُهُ لَخَرَّ يَلْثِمُ مِنْهُ مَا وَطَى الْقَدَمُ 5
هَذَا عَلِيٌّ رَسُولُ اللهِ وَالِدُهُ أَمْسَتْ بِنُورِ هُدَاهُ تَهْتَدِي الْاُمَمُ 6
هَذَا الَّذِي عَمُّهُ الطَّيَّارُ جَعْفَرٌ وَالْمَقْتُولُ حَمْزَةُ لَيْثٌ حُبُّهُ قَسَمُ 7
هَذَا ابْنُ سَيِّدَةِ النِّسْوَانِ فَاطِمَةٍ وَابْنُ الْوَصِيِّ الَّذِي فِي سَيْفِهِ نِقَمُ 8
إِذَا رَأَتْهُ قُرَيْشٌ قَالَ قَائِلُهَا إِلَى مَكَارِمِ هَذَا يَنْتَهِي الْكَرَمُ 9
يَكَادُ يُمْسِكُهُ عِرْفَانَ رَاحَتِهِ رُكْنُ الْحَطِيمِ إِذَا مَا جَاءَ يَسْتَلِمُ 10
وَلَيْسَ قَوْلُكَ: مَنْ هَذَا؟ بِضَائِرِهِ الْعُرْبُ تَعْرِفُ مَنْ أَنْكَرْتَ وَالْعَجَمُ 11
يَنْمِى إِلَى ذُرْوَةِ الْعِزِّ الَّتِي قَصُرَتْ عَنْ نَيْلِهَا عَرَبُ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْعَجَمُ 12
يُغْضِي حَيَاءً وَيُغْضَى مِنْ مَهَابَتِهِ فَمَا يُكَلَّمُ إِلَّا حِينَ يَبْتَسِمُ 13
يَنْجَابُ نُورُ الدُّجَى عَنْ نُورِ غُرَّتِهِ كَالشَّمْسِ يَنْجَابُ عَنْ إِشْرَاقِهَا الظُّلَمُ 14
بِكَفِّهِ خَيْزُرَانٌ رِيحُهُ عَبِقٌ مِنْ كَفِّ أَرْوَعَ فِي عِرْنِينِهِ شَمَمُ 15
مَا قَالَ: لَا، قَطُّ إِلَّا فِي تَشَهُّدِهِ لَوْلَا التَّشَهُّدُ كَانَتْ لَاؤُهُ نَعَمُ[1] 16
مُشْتَقَّةٌ مِنْ رَسُولِ اللهِ نَبْعَتُهُ طَابَتْ عَنَاصِرُهُ وَالْخِيمُ وَالشِّيَمُ 17
حَمَّالُ أَثْقَالِ أَقْوَامٍ إِذَا فُدِحُوا حُلْوُ الشَّمَائِلِ تَحْلُو عِنْدَهُ نَعَمُ 18
إِنْ قَالَ قَالَ بِمَا يَهْوَى جَمِيعُهُمُ وَإِنْ تَكَلَّمَ يَوْمًا زَانَهُ الْكَلِمُ 19
هَذَا ابْنُ فَاطِمَةٍ إِنْ كُنْتَ جَاهِلَهُ بِجَدِّهِ أَنْبِيَاءُ اللهِ قَدْ خُتِمُوا 20
اللهُ فَضَّلَهُ قِدْمًا وَشَرَّفَهُ جَرَى بِذَاكَ لَهُ فِي لَوْحِهِ الْقَلَمُ 21
مَنْ جَدُّهُ دَانَ فَضْلُ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ لَهُ وَفَضْلُ اُمَّتِهِ دَانَتْ لَهَا الْاُمَمُ 22
عَمَّ الْبَرِيَّةَ بِالْإِحْسَانِ وَانْقَشَعَتْ عَنْهَا الْعِمَايَةُ وَالْإِمْلَاقُ وَالظُّلَمُ 23
كِلْتَا يَدَيْهِ غِيَاثٌ عَمَّ نَفْعُهُمَا يُسْتَوْكَفَانِ وَلَا يَعْرُوهُمَا عَدَمُ 24

سهل الخليقة لا تخشى بوادره   يزينه خصلتان: الحلم والكرم 25

لا يخلف الوعد ميمونا نقيبته   رحب الفناء أريب حين يعترم 26

من معشر حبهم دين وبغضهم   كفر وقربهم منجى ومعتصم 27

يستدفع السوء والبلوى بحبهم   ويستزاد به الإحسان والنعم 28

مقدم بعد ذكر الله ذكرهم   في كل فرض ومختوم به الكلم 29

إن عد أهل التقى كانوا أئمتهم   أو قيل: من خير أهل الارض قيل: هم 30

لا يستطيع جواد بعد غايتهم   ولا يدانيهم قوم وإن كرموا 31

هم الغيوث إذا ما أزمة أزمت   والاسد اسد الشرى والبأس محتدم 32

يأبى لهم أن يحل الذم ساحتهم   خيم كريم وأيد بالندى هضم 33

لا يقبض العسر بسطا من أكفهم   سيان ذلك إن أثروا وإن عدموا 34

أي القبائل ليست في رقابهم   لأولية هذا أو له نعم 35

من يعرف الله يعرف أولية ذا   فالدين من بيت هذا ناله الامم 36

بيوتهم من قريش يستضاء بها   في النائبات وعند الحكم إن حكموا 37

فجده من قريش في أرومتها   محمد وعلي بعده علم 38

بدر له شاهد والشعب من احد والخندقان ويوم الفتح قد علموا 39

وخيبر وحنين يشهدان له   وفي قريضة يوم صيلم قتم 40

مواطن قد علت في كل نائبة   على الصحابة لم أكتم كما كتموا 41

1. O you the curious inquirer! If the desirers come to me, I would let them know that the secret source of generosity and kindness are with me,

2. This man whom you know not, is a person whose steps the land of Baṭḥā (the sandy road from Mecca to Minā) knows one by one, and so does the Holy Mosque (*Bayt Allah al-Ḥarām*), and everywhere and everyone inside and outside of the Holy Mosque knows him.

3. This is the son of the best people of God! This is the best pious man, and he is immune by the divine grace and free from any defect, a pure man and the owner of excellencies.

4. This is the same one whose father is the world-chosen [prophet] Ahmad; the one upon whom God will bestow His blessing as long as the world exists.

5. If that corner of the Ka'ba (where the Ḥajar al-Aswad is placed) knew who had come to give it kisses, certainly it would humbly fall down on the ground to kiss his footsteps!

6. This is Ali whose father is the Messenger of God, and all the nations of the world have been guided by the light of his guidance.

7. This is the one whose uncle is Ja'far al-Ṭayyār, and so is the murdered Ḥamzah (Sayyid al-Shuhadā); Ḥamzah, the grove of the lion of bravery, and friendship with him is at the bottom of our hearts, which are sworn to him everlastingly and unbrokenly.

8. This is the eldest son of the great lady of the world, Fatimah, and the son of the Prophet, from whose sword the fire of God's revenge was shining.

9. When the Tribe of Quraysh look at him, they spontaneously say: "All generosity, kindness, forgiveness, and gratefulness in the tribe belongs to this young man, and their nation, without exception, must venerate his threshold, and benefit from his generosity."

10. As if the Black Stone knows his boundless generosity and keeps him for its own sake and does not let him go away when he touches it!

11. And this question of yours—"Who is he?"—is an ignorance of yours, and does not damage his dignity, because everyone, from Arabs to non-Arabs, knows him.

12. He is related to the pure and dignified summit of the mountain where all Arabs in Islam are unable to climb.

13. Due to his high modesty and his imposing appearance and nobility, no one dares to speak to him face to face, unless one sees his smiling face.

14. His face is bright and his forehead is so illuminated that it tears up the dark curtain, and all the dark clouds fade away from the sky.

15. There is always bamboo in his hand so that its odor makes everywhere smell sweet; such pleasant scent is issued from that smart, brave man [Imam Husayn] with that amazing beard and a beautiful face in a perfect condition.

16. He never used the word "no" to respond to the request of people, except when he stated:

لَاإِلٰهَ إِلَّا اللهُ

"There is 'no' god but God;" except for in this statement, in other cases his "no" would mean "yes"!

17. His origin is initiated from the Messenger of God; therefore all his character, moral attitudes, attributes, thoughts, and virtues are transferred from the Prophet to him.

18. He bears the heavy burdens of those who fall on their knees. When encountering poor and needy people, he faces them with a smiling face—his positive answers to them are pleasant.

19. If he starts to say something, he speaks in such a way that all the listeners appreciate his saying, and whenever he utters a word, that word is considered to be a pearl through which he is praised.

20. If you are unaware who he is, let it be known to you that he is the son of Fatimah. He is the one whose grandfather is the seal of the divine prophets.

21. From the beginning in ancient times, God bestowed on him priority, dignity, and honor, so his destiny was assigned right from the beginning.

22. This is such a personality that, due to his grandfather, all the prophets stand in the lowest rank in front of him, and all nations are humble before his excellency and nobility.

23. He is embraced by the rays of divine benevolence that illuminate him; it is why he is singled out from the other creatures and is free from the darkness of injustice, ignorance, and devastation.

24. Both his hands are full of blessings, like the rain, and he has let everyone benefit according to his need. These two hands constantly receive the divine blessing that never stops.

25. His nature and moral attitude is soft and mild-mannered, and no one is afraid of his wrath. The two attributes of clemency and mercy beautify his praiseworthy actions.

26. He never breaks his promise. Benevolence and blessing spring from his nature. He is wise and deals with oncoming difficulties and problems wisely.

27. He is of a group to whom showing kindness would be faith in God, and showing hatred would be a kind of unbelief!

28. Affection to them removes all sedition and difficulties. This affection is also the root of blessing.

29. Mentioning his [the prophets'] name is obligatory after each prayer, and at the end of any preaching, books or elegies, we have to mention their names.

30. Whenever one wants to mention the names of pious people, one has to mention the names of the Imams, and when one wants to name the best people on earth, yet they are the Imams.

31. Never can anyone on a galloping horse reach such a lofty and high position as they have reached, and never can any group get close to their spiritual station, even if that group is at a high spiritual position.

32. If the people are afflicted with a famine suffering, this family asks God to send down water for them; if a war erupts, still it is they who defend the Muslims and the religion.

33. Their generous nature, and on the other hand, their kindness and forgiving, do not allow them to be reproached or blamed by an unaware person.

34. Their indigence and hardship cannot stop the acts of their forgiveness and generosity; therefore, the people benefit from their kindness, whether they are rich or not.

35. Which tribe can you find among the tribes that is not receiving a favor from them or from their grandfather, the Messenger of God?

36. One who knows God certainly knows him and his grandfather, because the religion of many people in the world is from his grandfather!

37. It is only their house among all the Quraysh in which the people take refuge in difficulties, hardship, and dispute. The people's problems are resolved, and justice through the divine light comes to their life again.

38. This is because his origin, grandfather, goes back to the Quraysh, and then [his father] Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib is his distinguished origin.

39. The proof for Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib's distinguished character is the [Battle of] Badr and the strait of Oḥud Mountain [in the battle of Oḥud], and the battle of Aḥzāb with its two ditches in Khandaq, and the day

of his victory of Mecca and his bravery in conquering it to which all friends and enemies are witness.

40. The two battles of Khaybar and Ḥunayn are two true witnesses for him, and so is his victory over the Jews on that frightening day of Banī Qurayḍa.

41. These events and battles were so frightful that the Companions were unable to find a solution to handle them; this is a fact that I frankly cannot refrain saying—so do other people!

Upon listening to this elegy, Hishām became angry and ordered the reduction of Farazdaq's reward. He said:

أَلاَ قُلْتَ فِينَا مِثْلَهَا

"Why did you not compose an elegy [for us] like that?"

Farazdaq said:

هَاتِ جَدّاً كَجَدِّهِ، وَأَباً كَأَبِيهِ، وَأُمّاً كَأُمِّهِ حَتَّى أَقُولَ فِيكُمْ مِثْلَهَا

"Do bring a grandfather like his grandfather, and a father like his; also a mother like his mother, so that I can compose an elegy for you like that!"

They imprisoned Farazdaq at 'Osfān between Mecca and Medina. The news of his imprisonment reached Imam Ali Ibn al-Husayn. Therefore, the Imam sent him twelve thousand dirhams and said:

أَعْذِرْنَا يَا أَبَا فِرَاسٍ، فَلَوْ كَانَ عِنْدَنَا أَكْثَرُ مِنْ هَذَا لَوَصَلْنَاكَ بِهِ

"O Abu Firās, accept our excuse! If we had more than this amount, we would certainly send it to you!"

Farazdaq returned the money to the Imam, saying:

يَابْنَ رَسُولِ اللهِ، مَا قُلْتُ الَّذِي قُلْتُ إِلاَّ غَضَباً لِلّهِ وَلِرَسُولِهِ، وَمَا كُنْتُ لأَرْزَأَ عَلَيْهِ شَيْئاً

"O son of the Messenger of God, I had no reason to compose except for refuge from the wrath of God and His Messenger [for my praising the poems for Hishām]—I did not compose it to get something out of it!"

Once again the Holiness sent the money to him with a message saying:

بِحَقِّي عَلَيْكَ لَمَا قَبِلْتَهَا فَقَدْ رَأَى اللهُ مَكَانَكَ وَعَلِمَ نِيَّتَكَ

"I swear to God, if you accept this money, God will still observe well your position, and He is aware of your intention."

This time Farazdaq accepted the money, and while still in prison, he started satirizing Hishām. His satires were like the following:

أيحبسني بين المدينة والتي　　　إليها قلوب الناس يهوي منيبها
يقلب رأسا لم يكن رأس سيد　　　وعينا له حولاء باد عيوبها[291]

Does he put me in prison located between Mecca and Medina where people's hearts desire to be devoted to God?

He nods his head, which is not a master's head, and his eyes are squinted, which reveal his defects!

When the news of his satires reached Hishām, he released him, but according to a narration from Abu Bakr 'Allāf, Hishām exiled him to Baṣra.[292]

Kashshī has narrated a similar hadith by his chain from Ubayd-ullah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Āyishah, from his father.[293]

With regard to this point, 'Allāmah Majlisī narrates from *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ* by Shaykh Mufid, who narrated the hadith from his own chain of narrators.[294]

Shaykh Mufid narrates the same content with another chain from Far'ān, who is one of Farazdaq's narrators, as follows:

One year, I went on the *hajj* pilgrimage with 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān and met Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib. 'Abd al-Malik wanted to disgrace him, so he asked me: "Who is this man?" Without answering his question, I immediately composed this famous elegy:

هذا ابن خير عباد الله كلهم　　　هذا التقي النقي الطاهر العلم

"This is the son of the best worshiper of God among people. This is the pious (*taqī*) and pure (*naqī*) who purifies (*ṭāhir*)!"

He continues his poem up to the end. 'Abd al-Malik used to give him a thousand gold dirhams as a gift each year, but that year he did not give him any dirhams.

Farazdaq complained about him to Imam Ali Ibn al-Husayn, and asked him to remind 'Abd al-Malik about his annual gift.

The Imam stated:

أنا أصلك من مالي بمثل الذي كان يصلك به عبد الملك وصن عن كلام

"I will give you a gift of as much as he used to give." And the Imam paid him the same amount, but due to his generosity, he did not say anything about it to 'Abd al-Malik.

Farazdaq said:

وَاللّٰهِ يَابْنَ رَسُولِ اللّٰهِ؛ لَا رَزَأْتُكَ شَيْئاً، وَثَوَابُ اللّٰهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ فِي الآجِلِ أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ ثَوَابِ الدُّنْيَا فِي العَاجِلِ!

"By God, O son of the Messenger of God, I never expected you to do a thing like this; the reward of God, glory to Him in the Hereafter, is much better than the reward of this passing world!'

After this story reached Mu'āwīyah Ibn Abdullah Ibn Ja'far Ṭayyār, who was known as the most generous man among the Banī Hāshim, he asked Farazdaq: "O Abu Firās! How long do you think you are going to live?" Farazdaq said: "About twenty years."

Ibn Abdullah told him:

فَهٰذِهِ عِشْرُونَ أَلْفَ دِينَارٍ أَعْطَيْتُكَهَا مِنْ مَالِي وَاعْفُ أَبَا مُحَمَّدٍ؛ أَعَزَّهُ اللّٰهُ عَنِ الْمَسْأَلَةِ فِي أَمْرِكَ!

"Now take these twenty thousand dirhams of mine, and exempt Abu Muhammad (Imam Sajjād) from paying that money. God has created them to be cherished, not to involve in such worldly affairs, which bring them down in the eyes of mean people (like Banī Umayyad)!"

Farazdaq said:

لَقَدْ لَقِيتُ أَبَا مُحَمَّدٍ بَذَلَ لِي مَالَهُ فَأَعْلَمْتُهُ أَنِّي أَخَّرْتُ ثَوَابَ ذٰلِكَ لِأَجْرِ الآخِرَةِ.[295]

"I have already visited Aba Muhammad (Imam Sajjād), and he bestowed the same amount on me from his own money, but I told him I would not take that gift, so that it might be my reward in the Hereafter."

Karam Bustānī in Farazdaq's poem collection has mentioned twenty-seven of the verses that Farazdaq had said for 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān along with the commentary of Hishām.[296]

Mīrzā Abbās Qulī Khān Sepehr has fully narrated this story and the poems of Farazdaq in *Nāsikh al-Tawārīkh*, from *Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, from *Wafayāt al-A'yān* by Ibn Ahmad Khallakān, from the *Mir'āt al-Janān* by Abu Muhammad Abdullah Ibn As'ad Yāfi'ī. Having mentioned twenty-nine lines of the elegy, he says:

According to Abu al-Faraj Isfahani, two verses of this elegy cannot be in the praise of Imam Ali Ibn al-Husayn; one of them is:

فِي كَفِّهِ خَيْزُرَانٌ رِيحُهُ عَبِقٌ   مِنْ كَفِّ أَرْوَعَ فِي عِرْنِينِهِ شَمَمُ

> There is always a bamboo stalk in his hand whose odor makes everywhere smell sweet.
>
> Such a smell issues from the hand of a smart, brave man whose beard and face are in perfect condition.

And another one is this verse:

يُغضِى حَيَاءً وَيُغضَى مِن مَهَابَتِهِ فَمَا يُكَلَّمُ إلَّا حِينَ يَبتَسِمُ

> Due to his high modesty, his imposing appearance, and nobility, no one dares to speak to him face to face, unless one sees his smiling face.

The content of these two lines does not, in fact, praise Ali Ibn al-Husayn.

Then he says:

> However, Abu al-Faraj, in volume 19 of *Aghānī,* has considered the second line of this elegy to be Farazdaq's poem. In any case, the first poem is never related to the Imam, but it could be about Abdullah 'Abd al-Malik, in which Farazdaq shows his sorrowfulness to him. The second poem must also be about his sadness concerning 'Abd al-Malik.
>
> It might also be possible that none of them belongs to Farazdaq, but as they are similar to his poetic language, narrators have mistakenly or deliberately placed them in that elegy.

In any case, Sepehr, when explaining this elegy, says:

> This elegy has already been mentioned by Majlisī in *Bihār al-Anwār,* Qāḍī Nūrullah in *Majālis al-Mu'minīn,* Ali Ibn 'Isā Irbilī in *Kashf al-Ghummah,* Abu al-Faraj Isfahani in volumes 14 and 19 of *Aghānī,* Sibṭ Ibn Juzī in *Taḍkirat Khawwāṣ al-Ummah,* Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī in *Madīnat al-Mu'ājiz,* and Rāwandī in in *al-Kharāyij wa al-Jarāyiḥ.* All these have narrated it with small differences. There is also a short explanation about Farazdaq in *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb* by Shaykh al-Haramayn, Abu Abdullah Qurṭabī.

Sepehr continues: "There is no doubt among historians that this elegy was composed by Farazdaq in praise of Ali Ibn al-Husayn in the presence of Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik."[297]

As we already explained, according to Majlisī, the number of lines in this elegy is forty-one.

In the commentary of *Nahj al-Balāghah* by Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd, volume 10, page 20, there is information about Farazdaq. Muḥaddith Qumi, in *al-Kunā wa al-Alqāb,* volume 3, page 17 onward, and in *Hadīyyat al-Aḥbāb,* page 211, has detailed information about Farazdaq and his life. Māmqānī also, in *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl,* volume 2, page 4, in the section *al-kinā,* has a good explanation about this poet and says his original name was Hammām Ibn Ghālib Ibn Ṣa'ṣ'ah, and also that his nickname was Abu Firās.

In *Nūr Malakūt al-Qur'an,* volume 3, pages 15 and 16, I, the author, have narrated something about Farazdaq from Imam Ali.

Ayatollah Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr, in *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a li-'Ulūm al-Islam,* pages 186 and 187, has mentioned something about him and his elegy.

Mustashār 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Jundī, in his book *al-Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq,* page 139, in an annotation, mentions the *ḥajj* pilgrimage of Hishām and then addresses eleven lines of this elegy. He then mentions the anger of Hishām against Farazdaq and how he put him in jail, as well as the reward of the Imam to him.

In the book *al-'Uyūn wa al-Maḥāsin* by Sayyid Murtaḍā on Shaykh Mufīd's lessons, sixteen lines of this elegy have been mentioned.[298]

*****

Praise be to God that the present volume is finished, two hours before noon in the month of Ramaḍān on Monday, the twenty-ninth, 1413 AH, in the city of Mashhad. This is due to the favor of the Holy Monarch of the time, Ḥujjat Ibn al-Hasan al-Askarī, may God hasten his re-appearance! And may He sacrifice us in his path.

Notes:

1. Khaṭīb Baghdadi, in *Taqyīd al-'Ilm* (Dār Iḥyā' al-Sunnat al-Nabawiyya, n.p.), p. 91, in the section of Dhikr al-Rawāyat from al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, in the second part of the third section of the chapter al-Ṣaḥābah, through the chains of Sharḥabīl Abu Sa'd, has narrated a hadith as follows:

دعا الحسن بن عليّ بنيه وبنى أخيه فقال: يابَنِيَّ وبنى أخي! إنّكم صِغار قوم يوشك أن تكونوا
كِبار آخرين. فتعلّموا العلم. فمن لم يستطع منكم أن يرويه فليكتبه وليضعه فى بيته.

> Hasan Ibn Ali called his sons and the sons of his brother and said: "O my son and the sons of my brother! You are now quite young and will very soon become the masters of your family. So do learn knowledge. Anyone of you who cannot learn here, write it down and keep it in a safe place at home!"

And similarly, with another chain from Abu Nu'aym Ḥāfiẓ, from Sharḥabīl Ibn Sa'd, saying that:

جمع الحسين بن عليّ بنيه وبنى اخيه فقال: يابَنِيَّ! إنّكم اليوم صغار قوم أوشك أن تكونوا كبار قوم،
فعليكم بالعلم فمن لم يحفظ منكم فليكتبه.

"Husayn Ibn Ali gathered his sons and the sons of his brother and said: 'O my children! Now you are quite young; soon you will be the masters of your family. Therefore, you need to learn knowledge; if you cannot memorize it, write it down.'"

In an annotation of the first narration in *Taqyīd al-'Ilm* by Khaṭīb Baghdadi, the editor, Yūsuf al-'Ash writes:

> This hadith is narrated in few different ways. For example in *Sunan Dārimī*, vol. 1, p. 126, and in *Tārīkh Baghdad*, vol. 6, p. 339, it is narrated with a different chain and small differences in the content, and in *Jāmi al-Bayān wa al-Faḍlah*, vol. 1, p. 82, it is narrated without any chains, and *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 5, p. 229 and *'Ilal al-Hadith*, vol. 2, p. 438 have mentioned this hadith differently; however, the certain point in this hadith is that it is related to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, who preached it to the youth of Quraysh. See Zamakhsharī, *Rabī' al-Abrār*, ed. Salīm Rabī'ī, vol. 1, p. 12.

2. Mustashār 'Abd al-Ḥamid Jundī, in his book *al-Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq*, page 200, has narrated this hadith from Ṣadūq in *Amālī* up to this point.

3. Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār* (Tehran: lithograph—Maṭba'a al-Islāmiyyah, 1376–1394 AH), vol. 2, p. 16; in the section of al-'Ilm from *Amālī* by Shaykh Ṭūsī, with the chains of Majāshi'ī, from Imam Ṣādiq, quoting his father and grandfathers—Imam Ali and the Prophet—who stated it as:

إذا كان يوم القيمة وزن مداد العلماء بدماء الشهداء فيرجح مداد العلماء على دماء الشهداء.

"When on the Day of Judgment, God will judge the pens of the scholars and the blood of the martyrs, the pens of the scholars will be more preferable than the blood of the martyrs."

4. Sayyid Muḥsin Āmilī, *Ma'ādin al-Jawāhir wa Nazhat al-Khawāṭir* (Beirut: Dār al-Zahrā), vol. 1, pp. 9–11.

5. Yūsuf al-'Ash, in the annotation, says: "'a similar hadith with the same style, but with another chain, is narrated from Ḥaḍramī in *al-Muḥaddith al-Fāṣil*, vol. 4, p. 13, and from Jamānī himself, with another chain, in *al-Muḥaddith al-Fāṣil*, vol. p. 13.

6. A similar hadith is narrated from Dāwūd in *Tārīkh al-Baghdad* by Khaṭīb, vol. 8, p. 357; in the same source, Ibn Mu'īn says: "Dāwūd is not such an important man to write such a thing."

7. Khaṭīb Baghdadi, *Tārīkh al-Baghdād* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā al-Sunnat al-Nabaviyyah), pp. 89–90.

8. Āyatollāh Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr, *al-Shi'a wa Funūn al-Islam* (Ṣaydā: Maṭb'at al-'Irfān, 1331 AH), p. 67. The author, after narrating the statement of Ibn Shahr Āshub, say:

> Shaykh Ṭūsī and Shaykh Abu al-Abbās Najāshī, in their own books, under the entry of the Shi'a authors, has mentioned a book from Abu Abdullah Salmān Fārsī and another one from Abūdhar Ghifārī, and then he has attributed his statement to them. Salmān's book is about the hadith of Jāthlīq, but Abūdhar's book is something similar to a sermon in which Abūdhar recounts the events after the demise of the Prophet; Sayyid Khānsārī in his *al-Rawḍāt al-Janān fi Aḥwāl al-'Ulamā wa al-Sādāt* (lithograph, 1307 AH) from the book of *al-Zinat*, written by Abu Ḥātam, has narrated: "At the time of the Prophet, Shi'a was a title for four persons: Salmān Fārsī, Abūdhar Ghifārī, Miqdād Ibn Aswad Kindī, and 'Ammār Ibn Yāsir; in *Kashf al-Zunūn* (Istanbul: Tab' al-Othmani, 1360 AH) the author, Kātib Chalapī, says: "*al-Zinat* is written by Abu Ḥātam Sahl Ibn Muhammad Sajistānī, who died in 205 AH."

9. In Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr's edition of *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a li 'Ulūm al-Islam*, p. 283, this person is named as Obaydullah Ibn al-Ḥurr al-Ju'fī al-Fārs al-Fātik al-Shā'ir.

10. At that particular period of time, the jurists were very careful not to write down and record their edicts. For example, Sa'īd Ibn Muṣayyib, who was the first jurisprudent among the seven Sunnis' jurisprudents, was afraid that something would be written from him. Once a man went to him and asked about a legal judgment. The companions of Sa'īd asked him: "O Abu Muhammad! Should your view be written?" Sa'īd turned to the man who was writing and said: "Give the paper to me!" The man gave the paper to him, and Sa'īd tore it up!

11. *al-Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq* (Cairo: al-Majlis al-A'lā lil-Shu'ūn al-Islamiyyah, 1397 AH), pp. 201–2.

12. *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a li 'Ulūm al-Islam*, on p. 283, says: "Omar Ibn Muhammad said that Mūsā Ibn Abdullah Ibn Hasan informed me from his father that he had written a copy of this book for himself; he carefully saved it and taught his students by means of it. He says that the author, Ali Ibn Rāfi', is a very respected follower of the Imam."

13. *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a*, p. 282; on this page he adds: "Abdullah died at the end of the year 100 AH."

14. In *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a*, p. 283, the author narrates Ibn Qutayba's saying in the book of *Ma'ārif* that Aṣbagh was a Shi'a; however, Ibn Ḥajar believed that he was a Rāfiḍī. He says: "He is known as of the second group of the Rāfiḍī and died after year 100 AH."

15. *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a*, p. 283; the author adds that Maytham was a very noble Shi'a martyr.

16. *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a*, p. 283; the author has fully mentioned the chain of Shaykh Ṭūsī's hadith.

17. *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a*, p. 284, and Najāshī relates his chains from 'Amr Ibn Abdullah Ibn Y'alā Ibn Murrah Thaqafī, from his father and grandfather, to Imam Ali.

18. In *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a*, p. 282, the author says that he had died after Imam Ali.

19. *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a*, p. 282; Ṣadr has added that he was Hamdānī, not Hamedānī; Ibn Hajar in his *Taqrīb*, after introducing him as a noble companion of Ali, has said: "Sha'bī has rejected his hadiths, and is accused of being a Rāfiḍī, but his hadith is not a valid one."

20. see pp. 281–84

21. Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr, *al-Shi'a wa funūn al-Islam*, pp. 67–69.

22. Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr has mentioned the same statement in *Ta'sis al-Shi'a*, p. 298, under the entry of Sa'īd Ibn Muṣayyib, and says:

> I have said that al-Qāsim Ibn Muhammad in Abi Bakr married the daughter of al-Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn Ali Ibn al-Husayn. I [the author] would say that according to the history, Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn was the cousin of Qāsim Ibn Muhammad, because Imam Abā Abdullah al-Husayn and Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr, the father of Qāsim, married two daughters of Yazdjerd.

> The fourth Imam, the Holiness Sajjād, married Umm Abdullah, the daughter of Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and Imam Muhammad Bāqir was born from the same mother. Qāsim Ibn Muhammad married his own cousin, the daughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abi Bakr. She gave birth to Umm Farwah. And the Holiness Imam Bāqir married Umm Farwah, and she gave birth to Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, as he said: "I am related to Abu Bakr on two sides." The reason for this is that his mother was Umm Farwah, whose father was Qāsim Ibn Muhammad, the son of Abi Bakr, and his mother was Asmā, the daughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the son of Abi Bakr; Abdullah Māmqānī, in *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl* (Najaf: lithograph, 1349–1352 AH) vol. 2, p. 23, about the biography of Qāsim, says that according to *Qurb al-Isnād*, he was Imami, as it is narrated from

> Ibn Īsā, from al-Bazanṭī, who says: "At Imam Riḍā's presence, it has been said that Qāsim Ibn Muhammad and Sa'īd Ibn Mussayyib were the cousins of the Imam, and the Imam confirmed this point." Al-Bazanṭī then narrates another hadith from Imam Ṣādiq, who said: "My mother was of the trustee lineage and very well trained in a modest family." Imam Ṣādiq continued: "My mother said that my father had said: 'O Umm Farwah! I implore God a hundred times each day and night to save and protect our followers, for we know how much reward is given to one who is patient, and those who are patient in what they are doing.'"

After mentioning this hadith, the narrator says: "Although the chain of this hadith is not strong, it is narrated so many times that one can trust its validity."

According to what is narrated above from Imam Ṣādiq, it becomes clear that Qāsim Ibn Muhammad was the grandfather of the Imam on his mother's side, the cousin of Imam Sajjād, and his mother and the mother of Qāsim were two daughters of Yazdjerd Ibn Shahryār, who was the last king of Iran. And Imam Husayn's marriage with one and Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr's marriage with another one is clearly reported in the books. There is so much said about it that it is written in *Tanqīḥ* as follows: "Mālik Ibn Anas has said: 'In fact Qāsim was one of the jurisprudents of this nation.' He died in 101 AH at the age of seventy-two."

And similarly in *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, vol. 3, p. 73, on the biography of Umm Farwah, it is said: "The daughter of Qāsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr is the mother of our Master al-Ṣādiq, and his mother, Asmā, is the daughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abi Bakr. So it was that the Holiness Imam Ṣādiq used to say: 'Abu Bakr is related to me twice!'"

In Muḥsin Amīn, *A'yān al-Shi'a* (Damascus: Maṭb'at Ibn Zaydūn, 1363 AH), vol. 43, pp. 9–10, on the biography of Qāsim under number 9467, the author says:

> He died in Qadīd, a place between Mecca and Medina, in 101 or 102, or 108 or 112 AH. He enjoined his family:
>
> كَفِّنونى فِى ثيابى الّتى كُنتُ أُصَلّى فيها: قَميصى وَإزارى ورِدائى؛ والحَىُّ أحوجُ إلى الجديدِ من المَيِّت.
>
> "After I die, wrap me in a shroud made out of my clothes that I always prayed with, that is, my shirt, trousers, and robe. A live person needs to wear new clothing more than a dead person!" He was seventy or seventy-two at his death, and had already lost his eyesight! He was the maternal grandfather of the Holiness Imam Ṣādiq from his mother, Umm Farwah, the daughter of Qāsim.

Because of this progeny, Sharīf Raḍī in his elegy says: "Now it reminds us of an old agony, for he was endlessly proud for us; he was the son of the daughter of al-Qāsim, the son of Muhammad."

It is said that he married the daughter of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn, who was his cousin.

Ibn Sa'd, in *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1376 AH) says: "Qāsim's mother was called Sūdah; however, some people called her Qarībah, the daughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abi Bakr. This is the meaning of what Imam Ṣādiq has stated: 'Indeed Abu Bakr is related to me twice.'"

Himyarī, in the third part of the *Qurb al-Isnād*, by means of his chains, has narrated that when the name of Qāsim Ibn Muhammad, the cousin of Imam Riḍā, and the name of Sa'īd Ibn Muṣayyib were mentioned in the presence of the Imam, he said: "They were as you say," which means they were Shi'a. Imam Riḍā added: "My father, Aba Ja'far, sought the daughter of Qāsim Ibn Muhammad to marry, and Qāsim Ibn Muhammad told my father: 'It is much better for you to go to your father and let him choose a wife for you.'"

As we already said, Umm Farwah was the daughter of Qāsim Ibn Muhammad, so Qāsim was the grandfather of the Imam on his mother's side, rather than his cousin. The word "cousin" here in the history could be a mistake; or perhaps an additional name before Qāsim is omitted in the historical reports, so that a person might be the son of Qāsim. And there is another possibility here that the concept of cousin was used for any maternal relative.

However, it is narrated in Ali Ibn 'Isā Arbilī, *Kashf al-Ghummah fi Ma'rifat al-A'immah* (Tabriz: Bani Hāshim Publication, 1381 AH), from Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Azīz Ibn al-Akhḍar al-Janābidhī:

> Imam Bāqir's mother is Umm Abdullah, the daughter of Imam Hasan Ibn Ali, and mother of Umm Abdullah is Umm Farwah, the daughter of Qāsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr. And this information does not match the claim that Umm Farwah was mother of Imam Ṣādiq. He who sought Qāsim's daughter to marry was Imam Abu Ja'far Bāqir, and he was the great-grandfather of Imam Riḍā. The reason for such an assertion is that most of the time, the Arabs call a grandfather simply "father."

> Here I would say: Another mistake in Janābidhī's statement is that the mother of Imam Bāqir, who was Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn's wife, is Umm Abdullah, the daughter of Imam Hasan al-Mujtabā; therefore, it is impossible for his mother, Farwah, the daughter of Qāsim, to be the wife of Imam Hasan. It is because Qāsim was more or less the same age as Imam Hasan al-Mujtabā.

> The demise of Imam Mujtabā was in 50 AH, and the demise of Imam Sajjād was in the year 95 AH, with a period of forty-five years' difference.

Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr has said with confidence in his two books, *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a li 'Ulūm al-Islam* and *al-Shi'a wa Funūn al-Islam* and Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn in *A'yān al-Shi'a* has said:

أنه كان متزوّجابنت الإمام زين العابدين عليه السلام.

"He married the daughter of the Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn."

However, there is compelling historical evidence that this statement is not related to the lineage of Imam Ṣādiq; rather, it is just about a marriage that has taken place. Was this marriage before the marriage of Asmā, the daughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ,with Qāsim or not? In any case, this issue needs more investigation.

23. *A'yān al-Shi'a,* vol. 43, p. 9; *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl,* vol. 3, p. 73, under the entry of Umm Farwah; *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* by Ibn Ḥajar 'Asqalānī in vol. 2, p. 103 under the entry of Imam Ṣādiq, says: "And his mother, Umm Farwah, the daughter of al-Qāsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr, and his mother Asmā, the daughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abi Bakr, was the same; that is why he used to say: 'Abu Bakr is related to me twice!'"

24. *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a li 'Ulūm al-Islam,* p. 298.

25. Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Shahr Āshub Mazandarani, *Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā* (Najaf: Maṭba't al-Haydariyyah, 1380 AH), p. 31, no, 886.

26. *Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā,* p. 125, no. 847, under the entry of Mutawakkil Ibn Omayr Ibn Mutawakkil, writes that Mutawakkil has narrated the supplications of the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd Ibn Ali. The author then says:

> I believe that for a long period of time, *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah* was called the Bible of Ahl al-Bayt and Zabūr Āl Muhammad; this point has been mentioned by Mir Dāmād in his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah,* p. 58, and Muḥaqqiq Fayḍ in his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah* published along with *Nūr al-Anwār fi Sharh Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* by *Jazā'irī* (lithograph), p. 249; Mīrzā Muhammad Ali Mudarris Chahārdihī Jilānī in his Persian commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah,* p. 3, says: "Know that there is enough evidence that the *Ṣaḥīfah* is certainly from Imam al-Sājjād. It is so clear that even Ghazzālī has said: 'That *Ṣaḥīfah* is Zabūr Āl Muhammad.'"

27. Sayyid Ali-khān Kabīr, *Sharh Ṣaḥīfah* (lithograph, 1334), p. 13.

28. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah,* supplication 47, the supplication of the Day of 'Arafah, nos. 56–65.

29. Concerning the fourth Imam, in *Riyāḍ al-Sālikīn* (lithograph, 1334 AH), p. 31 (Qum: Jāmi'at al-Mudarrisīn), vol. 1, pp. 210–13, the author says:

> He is the ornament among those who prostrate (in worship), the master of all the pious, the Imam of the faithful, Abu al-Hasan Abu Muhammad Ali Ibn Al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. His mother was the daughter of Yazdjerd, the son of Shahryār Ibn Kasrā. It is said that her name used to be Shar-Bānū and that was why Abu al-Aswad Du'lī has written the poem below about her:

> There was a young [princess] from Kasrā and Hāshim who was greater than them all.

The fourth Imam was born in 38 AH in Medina just two years before the demise of his grandfather, Imam Ali. Thus he lived with his grandfather for two years, and with his uncle Imam Hasan for twelve years, and with his father, Imam Husayn, for twenty-three years. Thirty-four years after his father's demise, he died at the age of fifty-seven in Medina in 95 AH. He was buried in Baqī' within a grave in which his uncle Imam Hasan was already buried—in the same cupola where Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was buried. The Imam was also called Dhu al-Thafiyāt, meaning someone who has calluses on his knees, because in Arabic, the term *thafiyāt* means the knees and thighs, and he was affected by his long prostrations in the prayers.

Zuhrī says: "I did not see anyone greater than Ali Ibn al-Husayn among the Hāshimī!" Ibn Juzī, *Tadhkirat Khawāṣ al-Ummah* (Iran: lithograph, 1418), p. 331; Shaykh Mufīd, *Irshād* (Qum: Islamiyyah, 1364), p. 257); it is narrated from Imam Bāqir that Ali Ibn al-Husayn used to pray a thousand units of the prayers every day, [and he was so skinny that] the wind shook him as ears of wheat! (Shaykh Mufīd, *Irshād*, p. 256). Whenever he performed ablution, he grew pale! His family asked him to know the reason why he grew pale when performing the ablution. He answered: "Do you know in front of whom I am going to stand now?" (Shaykh Mufīd, *Irshād*, p. 256); Ibn Āyishah said: "I heard the people in Medina said: 'We were not deprived of the secret donations until Ali Ibn al-Husayn died.'" See Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh* (Egypt: Maṭbi'at al-Sa'ādah, 1351 AH), vol. 9, p. 154; after his death, when his body was being washed, the people noticed the injuries on his back. They asked about those injuries. They were informed: "At night, he used to carry the leather flour bags on his back door to door to deliver them to the needy, so the heavy bags cause these injuries" (Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*, vol. 4, pp. 153–54); The Imam used to say:

إنّ صدقة السرّ تطفئ غضب الربّ.

"Indeed, giving donations in secret would lessen Allah's wrath" (ibid.).

Ali Ibn Ibrahim, quoting his father, said: "Ali Ibn al-Husayn used to go on the *ḥajj* pilgrimage on foot, and he used to cover the distance between Mecca and Medina in twenty days" (Shaykh Mufīd, *Irshād*, p. 256); it is narrated that Zurārat Ibn 'Ayan said: "In the middle of a night, I heard a beggar crying out: 'Where are those pious people who enjoyed the next world!' Once we heard a voice coming from the Baqī' Cemetery, a person whose face could not be seen but we could hear the voice, saying that he was Ali Ibn al-Husayn" (Shaykh Mufīd, *Irshād*, p. 256); it is narrated from Ṭāwūs, saying: "One night I was at the Hijr al-Ismāīl when I saw Ali Ibn al-Husayn arrive there to pray. I realized that he was a pious man from the Household, so I got closer to him and listened to what he was praying. I heard him

saying: 'O God, may this little servant be your ransom; I am poor in Your court; I am your sacrifice!'"

Ṭāwūs says: "Whenever I read this supplication in any of my difficulties, my problems were solved very quickly" (Shaykh Mufīd, *Irshād*, p. 256).

In *Rabī' al-Abrār*, Zamakhsharī has narrated that as Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwīyah set out with his army under the supervision of Muslim Ibn 'Aqaba to Medina to ruin the town and violate it, Ali Ibn al-Husayn entrusted four hundred women from the people of the city along with their servants and properties to his family until Muslim Ibn 'Aqaba changed his mind and set back for Medina. One of those women said:

ماعِشْتُ واللهِ بين أبَوَيَّ بمثل ذلك الشريف.

"By Allah, I did not enjoy life with my parents more than I do with this noble man!" (cited from *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 107); the Holiness was very kind to his mother. People used to tell him: "You are very affectionate to your mother, but why have we not seen you eating food with her out of one bowl?" The Holiness answered: "I fear lest I take a bit of the food that my mother wanted to take, and then to be declared disobedient!" (Abu Naṣr Ṭabarsī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, lithograph, 1314 AH, p. 221); it is also narrated from the Imam, saying: "I am always afraid of being related to the Prophet, while others have no such worry [of such a big responsibility]!" (*Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 2, p. 107).

30. As is mentioned in the second supplication in part 25: "praise and blessing be upon Muhammad and his descendants," and in the sixth supplication in part 24, the supplication of the early dawn and evening, and supplication twenty-three, parts 1–6, prayer for health, and supplication twenty-four, part 4, a prayer for his parents, and supplication twenty-six, part 1, a prayer for Jayrānah and his parents, and supplication thirty-four, part 5, a prayer for everyone who has committed a sin, and his supplication forty-eight, parts 3, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 12, prayers of the day of Aḍhā and Friday.

31. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah*, supplication 47, parts 72–73.

32. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah*, supplication 47, part 86.

33. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*, with the introduction of Āyatollāh Mar'ashī, translated by Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn Balāqī (Nashriyyāt Dār al-Kutūb al-Islamiyyah, 1369 AH), pp. 37–38; the remaining statement of Jawharī Ṭanṭāwī is: "He asked Āyatollāh Mar'ashī, 'Has any of the scholars in Islam written any commentary on it?' Āyatollāh Mar'ashī counted out a few commentaries and then he introduced Sayyid Ali-Khān's book *Rīyāḍ al-Sālikīn*; then Ṭanṭāwī wrote back: 'I am ready to write an introduction to this *Ṣaḥīfah*.'"

Now we present the correspondence of these two scholars, which is translated from Arabic to Persian by Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn Balāqī, published on pages 249–52 of *Sharḥ al-Ṣaḥīfah*:

> Cairo, 19 Rabī' al-Awwal, May, 1939, Jamā'at al-Okhuwwat Islami, composed by all the Islamic countries, Qubbat al-Ghurī, al-Mu'iz al-Dīn Street, the Holiness Master Allāmah Hujjat al-Ma'ālī Naqīb al-Ashrāf

> Sayyid Shahāb al-Dīn Husayni Mar'ashī Najafi, from the linage of the Household of the Prophet, may Allah secure him: May Allah's peace and blessing be upon you! I received your great letter including a volume of *Ṣaḥīfah*, the statements and sayings of the pious Imam of Islam: Ali Zayn al-'Ābidīn, Ibn Imam Husayn Shahīd, Rayḥānat al-Muṣṭafā. I was proud to receive the book and, at first glance, I found this a unique work that consists of divine knowledge and wisdom. As I go through the book, I feel that it is my adversity and privation that I have not noticed this superb, everlasting work from among the heritage of the Household of the Prophet! As I study it, I find out it is above the thoughts of ordinary people and lower than God's words! Truly it is a superb book! May Allah reward you for this gift of yours to me! You deserve to receive more reward for this.
>
> The next question is whether any other scholar of Islam has translated and explained this book. Are there any of those translations with you? At the end, I ask Allah, the Almighty, to bestow peace and security on you! Hereby, the young Indian learned man, Sayyid Muhammad Hasan A'ẓamī, the secretary of the Jamā'at al-Okhuwwat, sends his greetings and respect to you." Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī

The second letter of Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī:

> The Holiness Allāmah, the proved and noble Master, from the lineage of the Messenger of Allah, Naqīb al-Ashraf Sayyid Shahāb al-Dīn Husayni Mar'ashī Najafi. May peace and God's blessing be upon you! I received your noble letter along with a copy of *Rīyāḍ al-Sālikīn* on the commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah* by al-Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn Ali Ibn al-Husayn, edited by Sayyid Ali Ibn Ma'ṣūm Madanī, the author of *Salafat al-'Aṣr*. After I read the *Ṣaḥīfah*, I passed it on to the most learned scholar Sayyid Muhammad A'zamī Hindī, the secretary of the whole Jamā'at al-Okhuwwat Islami, in order to put it in the library so as to be available to other scholars. And Jamā'at al-Okhuwwat Islami would be very pleased if you could send them any more books like that to make their library richer, because all Islamic schools of thought are in Jamā'at al-Okhuwwat, and I will try, God willing, to write a commentary on the noble *Ṣaḥīfah*.
>
> With best wishes, Yours, Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī.

34. Sayyid Ali-Khān Madanī Shirazi is one of the most eminent Shi'a scholars. He is of the grandchildren of Sayyid Muhammad, the son of the Holiness martyr Zayd Ibn Husayn. His biography has been written in many books. There are elegies related to him called *Ghadīriyyah*. This collection starts: "At midnight, at dark, he [the Imam] is a traveler shining like a full moon or even brighter!" (Allāmah Amīnī has written down forty-two lines

of it, and in an annotation says: "this line of the poem is mentioned here out of sixty lines composed by Sayyid Ali-Khān Madanī").

Here, we are going to give a brief explanation about Sayyid Ali-Khān Madanī's life from Allāmah Shaykh 'Abd al-Husayn Amīnī's *al-Ghadīr* (Theran: Maṭba'ah Ḥaydarī, 1373 AH), vol. 11, pp. 344–53.

According to Amīnī, Ali-Khān is the author of eighty books. He was born in Medina on a Saturday evening, the fifteenth of Jamādi al-Awlā, 1052 AH. In 1068 AH, he traveled to Ḥaydar Ābād in India and started writing *Sulafat al-'Aṣr* in 1081. As his contemporary, the author of *Nasmat al-Saḥar,* maintains, he stayed in Ḥaydar Ābād for forty-eight years. After his father died in 1082, Sayyid Ali left Ḥaydar Ābād for the city of Burhānpūr, to go to Sultan Awrang Zib. The Sultan chose him as the major general of an army with one thousand three hundred soldiers and cavalries, and at the same time he titled him "Khān." When the Sultan went to the city of Ahmadnegar, he appointed the Khān as his guardian of the city of Awrang Ābād, and then was appointed as the governor of Lahore, and then some time later he was given authority to govern Burhānpūr for several years.

In 1114, he served the army of the king of India, but after a while, he retired and prepared to take the *ḥajj* pilgrimage and visit the shrine of Imam Riḍā in Mashhad. In Sultan Husayn Ṣafavi's time in 1117, he went to Isfahan and lived there for a few years, and then he moved to Shiraz, where he became a very well-known teacher and scholar in religious studies. He died in this city in 1120. He was buried in the shrine of Shāh Cherāq Ahmad Ibn al-Imam Mūsā Ibn Ja'far—next to his grandfather Ghīyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr, who established the Manṣūriyyah school. Sayyid Ali-Khān has composed a twenty-line elegy in praise of Imam Ali that begins: "O Master of the Faithful, may my soul be sacrificed to you; we are in wonder at your high position."

When he along with some other pilgrims returned from the *ḥajj* pilgrimage to Najaf al-Ashraf, he composed a wonderful elegy in the honor of Imam Ali. This elegy consists of thirty-seven lines and begins with: "O the Righteous of this shrine, you cast light upon eyes and souls." For the whole elegy and its explanation, see *al-Ghadīr,* vol. 11.

35. Here.

مدارة

means al-Sayyid and the chief of the tribe.

36. *Rīyāḍ al-Sālikīn* (lithograph, 1334 AH), p. 5; (Qum: manuscript, Jāmi'a-yi Mudarrisīn), vol. 1, p. 51.

37. *Rīyāḍ al-Sālikīn* (lithograph), p. 5; (manuscript), vol. 1, p. 51.

38.According to Muḥaddith Qumi, Ibn Ḥamdūn Nadīm Muhammad Ibn Hasan Baghdadi Kātib died in 563 or 608, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Murshidī Ibn Īsā Ḥanafī died in 1037.

39. *Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā,* pp. 2–3.

40. Before Sayyid Ṣadr, Āyatollāh Sayyid Ali-khān Shirazi has mentioned Ibn Shahr Āshūb's points against Ghazzālī in *Rīyāḍ al-Sālikīn* (lithograph, 1334), p. 13; (manuscript edition), vol. 1, p. 100.

41. *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a li 'Uulūm al-Islam,* p. 28.

42. In an annotation, Shaykh Muhammad Bāqir Behbūdī writes:

> See the original of the permission in which Muhammad Taqī Majlisī has written the whole story, and the story ends as follows:
>
>> So the Imam told me: "I sent that book to you; did you not receive it?" I answered: "No, I did not!" Then, the Holiness said: "The book is now with Mawlānā Muhammad Tāj Faraḥ, so get it from him."
>>
>> I left the Holiness for Mulānā Muhammad Tāj Faraḥ to get the book. When I arrived at his home, he asked me: "Has Ṣāhib al-Amr [the Imam] sent you here?" I answered: "Yes, he has. He gave the book to me and was very careful to save it as a trustee." It was then I woke up but without the book with me! I was quite desperate and began crying for the book and the fatal dream of mine. Soon I got up and went to Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn Muhammad, may Allah be pleased with. I noticed that he was busy teaching *Ṣaḥīfah* to some students of his. I waited for a while until he had finished the lesson, and then while still crying, I told him the whole story. The shaykh listened to me carefully and then said: "This event is superb; there is nothing better than this event! His giving the book to you means letting you have the knowledge of the divine! It is a glad-tiding to you forever!"

43. In the introduction of the *Ṣaḥīfah* that is translated into Fārsī by Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn Balāghī (Qum: Dār al-Kutūb Islamiyyah, 1369 AH), Sayyid Muhammad Mishkāt, in his *Mashīkhat al-Faqīh*, pages 22–25, has narrated the above-mentioned dream of Majlisī, and says: "This story means that the *Ṣaḥīfah* is approved directly by Imam Mahdi." Mishkāt's points here are like Mudarrisī Chahārdehī's points that we mentioned before this story, but there are few differences in the points of these two scholars, as follows:

> 1) I thought that by Mawlānā Muhammad, the Imam meant Shaykh Muhammad Mudarris.
>
> 2) The Shaykh said that the interpretation of my dream was that I was informed of divine knowledge, but I was not satisfied with this interpretation.
>
> 3) When I met and greeted Āqā Hasan Tājā, he said: "Most students borrow books from my library, but they usually do not return them to me. You take any book you like; keep your promise and return it."
>
> 4) I said: "This book is enough for me." Then from there I went to Shaykh Muhammad Mudarris, and I compared that copy with the copy that was written by his great-grandfather, from Shahīd's copy. And the copy that

the Imam had bestowed on me was written from the hand-written book of Shahīd.

At this point, Sayyid Muhammad Mishkāt says: "Concerning the *Ṣaḥīfah*, I have also experienced an extraordinary event that is too long to mention here!"

44. *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*, ed. Āyatollāh Mudarrisī Chahārdehī (al-Maktabah al-Murtaḍawiyyah), pp. 1–4.

45. I carefully reviewed this edition and found out that the annotations of this version belong to Fayḍ Kashani, because first I compared them with his annotations on *Nūr al-Anwār* (published in 1317) by Sayyid Ni'matullah Jazāy'irī and found the two styles of writing are the same. Secondly, Fayḍ died on the second of Rabī' al-Ākhar in 1091. And as the ending date of the annotations is the fifteenth of Rabī ' al-Ākhar, 1091, therefore Fayḍ had been alive one week after the date of those annotations. However, although the annotations belong to Fayḍ, they were copied by a writer many years later.

The following is a sample of Fayḍ's annotations:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، الحمد لله وسلامٌ على عباده الذين اصطفى. واما بعد فيقول الفقير الى الله الغنيّ محمّد بن مظفّر المدعو بتقى الصوفى الزّيابادى القزوينى أوزعه الله شكر نعمته: لمّا وُفّقت بقراءة الصّحيفة الكاملة لسيّد العابدين علىّ بن الحسين بن على بن أبى طالب سلام الله عليه و آبائه و أبنائه المعصومين على شيخى و استادى و من اليه فى العلوم الشريعة استنادى شيخ المحقّقين و وارث علوم الانبياء و المرسلين حجّة الاسلام و المسلمين بهاء الملّة و الحقّ و الدّين محمّد بن حسين بن عبد الصّمد الحارثى العاملى أدام الله بركته على المسلمين و أخذت الاجازة منه، اطّلعت على بعض الادعية المنسوبة اليه عليه السلام ممّا الحق بالصّحيفة المذكورة أو لم يلحق فالتمس منى بعض الاحبّاء من المؤمنين أن أجمعها فى مجموع يكون سَهْل المأخذ. فاستخرتُ الله تعالى و أوردتُ فى هذا المجموع من أدعيته عليه السلام ما تيسّر لى إيراده حسب ضيق الوقت و كثرة الشُّغل و توزّع البال ممّا كان أودعه أئمّة الدّعاء فى كتبهم كالكافى لثقة الاسلام محمّد بن يعقوب الكلينى و من لا يحضره الفقيه لرئيس المحدّثين محمّد بن بابويه القمّى؛ و التّهذيب و المصباح لشيخ الطائفة محمّد بن حسن الطّوسى؛ و مهج الدّعوات لِلسّيّد الايّد رضى الدّين على بن طاوس سائلاً من الله المغفرة لى و لجميع المؤمنين و المؤمنات .

In the Name of Allah, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful: praise belongs to Allah, and peace and blessing be upon His servant whom He has chosen. And I declare that I am the same most humble, the poorest one in the presence of the Almighty Allah, known as al-Ṣufī al-Ziyā

'Ābādī al-Qazvini, the most humble for His endless blessings for honoring me with the opportunity to read, ponder, write, and translate *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah* by Sayyid al-'Ābidīn Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him and all his pure lineage and children, and Allah's peace and blessings for giving me the opportunity to study this book with my shaykhs, masters, the most expert in religion, the master of investigators, and the heir to the knowledge of prophets and apostles, his eminence to Islam and the Muslims, the worthy and rightful custodian of Islam and religion, Muhammad Ibn Husayn Ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Ḥārithī al-Āmilī, may Allah extends his blessing among the Muslims. I was honored by his permission to write the translations of some of the supplications of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. It was because some of the believing brothers had asked me to write them in simple language. So I asked the Almighty Allah for His great help and then referred to some of the supplications narrated through numerous scholars. I did my best to do this task in the allotted time. The books that I referred to in my research are as follows: *al-Kāfi* by Muhammad Ibn Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī, *Man lā Yaḥḍuruhu al-Faqih* by Muhammad Ibn Bābwayh al-Qumi, and *al-Tahdhīb* and *al-Miṣbāh* by Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah, Muhammad Ibn Hasan al-Ṭūsī, and the *Mahj al-Da'wāh* by Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Ali Ibn Ṭāwūs. I implore forgiveness from Allah for them all, as well for all the believers, men and women.

Apparently a copy of my hand-written book has reached Āyatollāh Mar'ashī. He has mentioned this edition in his explanation on the book of Sayyid Muhammad Mishkāt on pages 35–36. Mar'ashī's explanation is as follows:

> Among the blessings of Allah to me is that I have come across a book called *Mulhaqāt al-Ṣaḥīfah* whose writer is Shaykh Thiqah Muhammad Ibn Muḍaffar, known as Taqī Ziyā Ābādī Qazvini, who was born and died in Semnān. He was a student of Shaykh al-Bahā'ī. In the beginning of the book, Ziyā Ābādī says: "After I read *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* in the presence of my master (Shaykh al-Bahā'ī), the Shaykh gave me permission to narrate some of the supplications of the Holiness Imam Sajjād, so in my research I came across some new supplications. The date of compilation of this edition is 1023, and the original copy is with me."

46. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thālithah al-Sajjādiyyah* (Maktabat al-Thaqalayn al-Qur'an wa al-'Itrat, 1400), pp. 5–8.
47. A manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīfah* in my library, which includes Mullā Muhammad Taqī Ziyā Ābādī's annotations, should naturally be the second *Ṣaḥīfah*; therefore, Shaykh Harfūshī's edition must be the third, and then Shaykh Ḥurr Āmilī's edition must be the fourth one, and so on.
48. *al-Dharī'ah ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī'a* (Tehran: Intishārāt Majles, 1369), vol. 15, pp. 19–20, under no. 96; the author of *al-Dharī'ah* at the end of this entry, says:

"Shaykh Ḥurr's *Ṣaḥīfah* was printed in Iran, and its main copy with the supplications and annotations is kept in the treasure house of Mīr Ḥāmid Husayn in India. This *Ṣaḥīfah* with no annotations was printed in Bombay in 1311."

49. *al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 15, p. 20, under no. 97.

50. In the treatise *Zahr al-Riyāḍ fi Tarjumat Ṣāḥib al-Riyāḍ'*, written by Āyatollāh Mar'ashī, published in the introduction of the first volume of *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā*, Mar'ashī (Qum: 1401 AH) says:

> The term *afandī* is Turkish for *jaghṭā'ī*, which is originally a Mongolian term, and it means a great man of high position. And this person was known by this title, because he had a high position in the court of the kings of Othmani. He had such a high position that he could ask the Sultan to remove Sharīf from his position in Mecca. According to historians, Afandī traveled to different places around the world such as Egypt, Ḥijāz, Yemen, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Iran, Afghan, Turkestan, Hind, Sind, Ḥaḍarmūt, Indonesia, Turkey, Gurjestan, Armenia, Tashkent, Kashmir, and some others. In these countries, he used to cultivate friendly relations with the scholars and have dialogues with them on various religions topics. It is said that *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Thāniyah al-'Alawiyyah* was written by him. According to Jazā'irī's annotation to *Ijāzi al-Kabīrah* and *Tadhkirat al-Ghubūr* by 'Allāmah Mahdavī Isfahani, he died in 1130. He was buried near to the grave of Fāḍil Hindī. 'Allāmah Mahdavī says:
>
>> 'Allāmah Majlisī's comments in *Bihār al-Anwār* about this scholar are good evidence for his high level of knowledge. Majlisī refers to Afandī, saying: "One of our knowledgeable students gave us good advice about the place of some hadiths in the chapters of our book [*Bihār*]." And I have seen an edition of *Bihār al-Anwār* that shows that *Bihār* was compiled under the supervision of this great scholar, Afandī. 'Allāmah Mahdavī has also said that Sayyid Abdullah Jazā'irī says that he saw a copy of some volumes of *Bihār* with Majlisī's own handwriting when he was staying as a guest in Shushtar in Afandī's home.

51. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thālithah* (Qum: Maktabat al-Thaqalain, 1400 AH), pp. 8–17.

52. *al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 15, p. 20, no. 98.

53. In the lexicon *Dehkhodā* (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 1325–59), vol. 26, under the entry of *'s, h, a'* it is mentioned: "Suhā is a famous dim star in the Banāt al-Na'sh group, which is located next to Ursa Major" (Dobb Akbar in Persian). Similarly, *Dehkhodā*, vol. 32, pp. 186–87, says: "The term Faraqdān or Faraqdāyn, which are the names of two bright stars in Ursa Minor called in Persian Dobb Aṣghar. These two names are also used for referring to closeness, because they always appear together in the sky (Qalqashandī, *Ṣubh al-A'ashā*, vol. 2, p. 164).

54. For example, he has mentioned the supplication on p. 25 from the book of *Sa'ādāt*, and the supplication is also on p. 27. The supplication of Sha'rī is

from p. 143 onward, which he has picked out from a manuscript by some scholars. The late Amīn has some objections to the Arabic language of these supplications.

55. Muḥaddith Nūrī, *Ṣaḥīfah al-Rābi'ah*, pp. 2–3, and pp. 145–46.

56. *al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 15, p. 20, no. 99.

57. Muḥsin Amīn, in the annotation says: "That is a book on the science of *rijāl* and *trājim* is given the name *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā wa Ḥayāḍ al-Fuḍalā* (Qum: ed. Ahmad Husayni, Maṭba't al-Khyyām, 1401 AH). He has listed the name of Shi'a and Sunni scholars since the time of the Lesser Occultation until his time in 1119. He has mentioned ten volumes and has followed the straight course. Many scholars after him have written books on the same subject, but all have taken much information from this original work.

Right now, by the endless mercy and assistance of Allah, five volumes out of ten of the book of *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā* have been published by the assistant of Sayyid Ahmad Husayni; however five volumes are still missing, and there is no trace of them in the libraries. Volumes one to five are on the biography of Shi'a scholars, and volumes six to ten are about Sunni scholars. One point that makes this book unique is that the author gathered the information about the Muslim scholars by traveling to the different parts of the world. During his travels, he met a great many other writers and discussed with them the information he was looking for. In his writing, he has also mentioned the name of people whom he used as his source.

58. The fifth *Ṣaḥīfah Sajjādiyyah*, of the supplications of the Holiness Imam Sajjād, by 'Allāmah Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn al-Āmilī (Isfahan: Maktabat al-Imam Amir al-Mu'minīn), pp. 2–8.

59. The Late Amīn wants to justify the validity of the weak narration of the supplications by the rule through which narrations on non-obligatory teachings (supplications and prayers) have easier standards for validation. However, concerning the validity of non-obligatory teachings, we should know that *Wasā'il al-Shi'a* has only explained nine hadiths. The first hadith is as follows:

مَن بَلَغَه شیءٌ من الثواب علی شیء من الخیر فعمل به کان له أجر ذلك وان کان رسول الله صلی الله علیه وآله وسلم لم یَقُله

"Whoever narrates to someone something of the rituals for goodness from the Prophet and he himself practices it, there is a reward for him, although the Prophet did not say that." The great scholars have used this hadith as a proof for a rule called "being flexible with regard to evidence for narrations on preferred religious rituals (*mustaḥab*)," based on which, in the case of preferred religious rituals, any narration from an infallible (*Ma'ṣūm*) is accepted, although they are not very reliable. However, it should be noted that this rule does not apply to a hadith whose invalidity we are certain of, and whose content goes against Islamic principles and which may damage the religion! As is seen nowadays, by narrating the weak hadith from Mu'allī Ibn Khunays, they have recognized Nawrūz as a religious festival and they have narrated some special supplications and bath-taking on that day.

Therefore, according to this rule, we would say that if once through religious proofs some reward is given to someone, and the receiver of the reward also acts upon it, but unknowingly he does the opposite of the fact, his reward is given by the Creator, as is explained in the above-mentioned prophetic hadith. The term *bulūq* (received) finds its real meaning when it is said to be reliable, and proves its result in this way, like the term *bulūq* in the blessed verse:

يا أيّها الرسول بلّغ ما انزل إليك من ربّك

O Messenger! Propagate what is sent down to you from your Creator, and like the noble verse:

هٰذا بلاغٌ للنّاس

This is a message delivered for the people, and it applicable to some cases, so that somehow its relation to the infallibles is already proven; so in the case of supplications, which are about the spiritual relations between God and people, we should not rely on invalid hadiths.

60. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Khāmisah,* pp. 12–13.

61. See our criticism on this last point where we explained the rule of "being flexible with regard to evidence for narrations on preferred religious rituals (*mustaḥab*)."

62. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Khāmisah,* pp. 18-19.

63. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah,* translated by Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn Bulāghī (Dar al-Kutub al-Ismamiyyah, 1369 AH).

64. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 110, p. 43. The statement of the first Majlisī is as follows:

انّی أروی الصحیفة الکاملةَ عن مولانا و مولی الانام سیّد السّاجدین علی بن الحسین زین العابدین مناولةً عن صاحب الزّمان و خلیفة الرّحمن الحجّة بن الحسن: بین النّوم و الیقظة، و رأیت کأنّی فی الجامع العتیق بإصبهان، و المهدیّ صلوات الله علیه قائم و سألت عنه مسائلَ أشکلت علیّ فأجاب عنها. ثمّ سألت عنه علیه السلام کتاباً أعمل علیه، فأحالنی بذلك الکتاب الی رَجل صلح فلمّا أخذت منه کان الصّحیفة. و ببرکة هذه الرؤیا انتشرت الصحیفة فی الآفاق بعد ما کان مطموس الأثر فی هذه البلاد

Indeed, I narrated the *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* from our Master, Sayyid al-Sājidīn Ali Ibn al-Husayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn, from Ṣāḥib al-Zamān wa Khalifat al-Rahmān, al-Ḥujjat Ibn al-Hasan during my sleeping and dozing. I dreamed that I was in Masjid al-'Atīq in Isfahan, with al-Mahdi, peace be upon him, and I asked him some questions and received the answers. Then I asked him for a book from which to practice, so he referred me to *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah.* After this blessed dream, I decided to publish that book and distribute it to the faithful.

65. *Bihār al-Anwār* (Company), vol. 110, pp. 45–47.
66. The eminent scholar Sayyid Muhammad Mishkāt has explained this hadith in the same way as it is in the introduction to the Persian *Ṣaḥīfah* of Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn Balāghī. Mishkāt says: "This *Ṣaḥīfah* is so famous that Mullā Muhammad Taqī Majlisī asserts that it has about a thousand chains.'"
67. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 110, pp. 63–66.
68. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 110, pp. 54–59.
69. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 110, pp. 54–59.
70. According to *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 110, p. 61, Mullā Muhammad Taqī Majlisī (the first), at the end of a lengthy permission to a hadith on *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah* from Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn Āmilī, says: "According to Shaykh Rashīd al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Shahr Āshub Mazandarani, apparently the name of the Bible and Psalm was given to the *Ṣaḥīfah* because the *Ṣaḥīfah* was inspired by God to Sayyid al-Sājidīn Ali Ibn al-Husayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn. It as it is in the case of Dāwūd and Īsā Ibn Maryam.
71. *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah al-Jāmi'ah*, p. 844.
72. Muḥaddith Nūrī, *Ṣaḥīfah al-Rābi'ah*, pp. 143-5.
73. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah al-Jāmi'ah*, pp. 516–17.
74. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl Ibn Ībak Ṣafdī, *al-Wāfi bi al-Wafayāt* (Dār al-Nashr, 1381AH).
75. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah al-Jāmi'ah*, pp. 17–30.
76. *Sharh Dīvān Ibn Muqbil* and two other books on supplications; everything mentioned above about the manuscripts was explained by our great brother Shaykh Muḥsin Sa'īdīyān, who narrated from Mahdi Valā'ī.
77. Volume 11 is edited by Mahdi Valā'ī. The collection we addressed in the library is available under number 435, collection 12405, from pages 671–75, and volume 12 is edited by Ghulam-Ali 'Irfānīyān. It is available under number 623, collection 12405, pp. 411–17.
78. Here, as a sample, we explain the contents of some parts of the two volumes of the five books in collection number 122405; volume 11, pp. 671–75, and volume 12, pp. 411–17.

A) *Qawāri' al-Qur'an* has three parts, which consist of some verses of the Qur'an, along with hadiths on the importance of each verse, written by Shaykh Abu 'Amr Muhammad Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Hasan. He is a Sunni scholar and hadith narrator from the school of Shāfi'ī. He has collected in this book hadiths on the benefits of reciting verses for repelling Satan. Abu Abdullah Ahmad Ibn Abi Omar Ibn Ahmad Andarābī wrote this book on the twelfth of Ramaḍān in 429 AH in Nishabur.

B) The book of *Juz'un fihi Āyāt al-Ru'ya wa al-Ḥirz*. The manuscript writer of this book is the same as the previous one, Andarābī, who finished writing in 429 AH, three days before Ramaḍān; and it was recited on the thirteenth of Ramaḍān, 429.

C) *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah*, which includes thirty-eight supplications. Some sections and the phrasing of some supplications in this *Ṣaḥīfah* are different from Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Bahā al-Sharaf Abu al-Hasan Mu-

hammad's narrations. The manuscript writer of this book is Hasan Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Zāmī, in the month of Shawwāl, 416 AH.

D) The book of *al-Mudhakkar wa al-Mu'annath* is a small but very useful book. It is on the list of female names in Arabic, and it has three sections. The manuscript writer of this book is the very writer of the *Ṣaḥīfah*, that is, Hasan Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Zāmī, and was written on the ninth of Muḥarram al-Ḥarām in 417 AH.

E) *al-Risālah fi Shahr Rajab*. It is is a brief book specifying recommended prayers and practices for the nights of Rajab. It is written by Ḥākim Abu al-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Abdullah Ibn Ahmad Ḥaskānī, who wrote it in response to Ḥāmid Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ja'far in fifteen sections.

79. Concerning the word

سَبَّلَهُ

in *'Aqrab al-Mawārid*, it is said: "It is donating something for the sake of Allah, in whatever way is benevolent. It is said in a hadith to be donating for the sake of good, and in a hadith to be saving the main original thing and giving away its fruits."

80. *al-Fihrist*, vol. 11, p. 675; *al-Fihrist*, vol. 12, p. 417.

81. Muḥaddith Nūrī has mentioned the complete supplication in the fourth *Ṣaḥīfah*, and Āyatollāh Amīn Āmilī has also mentioned it in the fifth *Ṣaḥīfah*. See pp. 259–67. Both of these two great men have taken it from *Balad al-Amīn* by Shaykh Ibrahim Kaf'amī. They similarly say that they are following Shaykh Ḥurr 'Āmilī and narrate a mourning supplication that begins with a complaint to God, and Shaykh Ḥurr has mentioned its chain, where he narrates the permission to Banī Zuhrah, as follows:

> And there is a supplication from our Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn Ali Ibn al-Husayn, which is narrated by Hasan Ibn Darbī from Najm al-Dīn Abdullah Ja'far Durīsty, from Ḍiyā al-Dīn Abu al-Riḍā Faḍlullah Ibn Ali al-Husayni in Kāshān, from Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Husayn Muqrī Nishaburi, from Ḥākim Abu al-Qāsim Abdullah Ibn Abdullah Ḥaskānī, from Abu al-Qāsim Ali Ibn Muhammad 'Omarī, from Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Bābwayh, from Abu Muhammad Qāsim Ibn Muhammad Astarābādī, from 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ibrahim and Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sanān, from Abu Yaḥyā Ibn Abdullah Ibn Yazīd Muqrī, from Sufyān Ibn 'Ayyina, narrating from Zuhrī, saying:
>
>> I heard of Mulānā Zayn al-'Ābidīn having whispered a prayer, saying:
>>
>> يَانَفْسُ حَتَّامَ إِلَى الْحَيٰوةِ سُكُونُكِ
>>
>> "O my soul, how long will it be your place to abide in this life?" up to the end of the Imam's prayer, which says:
>>
>> وَاجْعَلْنَا مِنْ سُكَّانِ دَارِ النَّعِيمِ بِرَحْمَتِكَ يَا أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ

"And You assigned us from among the population a blissful resort, O the Merciful of the merciful!"

The late Amīn continues saying:

Ibn Shahr Āshūb has mentioned a small part of this supplication in his *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib* (Qum: Intishārāt Allamah) as follows: "It is enough for you knowing the piety of the Holiness Imam Sajjād through his supplications and prayers. Among them is what Zuhrī has narrated, and the first line reads: "O my soul, inevitably you are going to stay in this world and your dwelling is going to be this..."

82. It must be noted that our investigation is on the original manuscript of this old edition, not on its copy.
83. Ḥājj Sayyid 'Azizullāh Ṭabāṭabā'ī is a maternal grandson of Āyatollāh Sayyid Muhammad Kāzim Yazdi, whose mother, Batūl, is the daughter of Sayyid Ahmad, the third son of the Late Yazdi. His first son is Āqā Sayyid Muhammad, and his second son is Āqā Sayyid Ali. His mother, Batūl, married Sayyid Javād Ṭabāṭabā'ī Yazdi, and her mother was Bībī Baygom, Khadījah's daughter, who was the granddaughter of Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī. On the other side, Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī is the maternal great-grandfather of Ḥājj Sayyid 'Azizullāh Ṭabāṭabā'ī.

Bībī Baygom is the sister of Āyatollāh Sayyid Muhammad Ali Sibṭ, the son of Sayyid Muhammad Nabī, the son of Ḥājj Sayyid Mūsā, the son of Sayyid Ismā'īl, the son of Sayyid Husayn, and the son of Sayyid 'Abd al-Bāqī (see *A'yān al-Shi'a*, entry '*A*'). On his mother's side, his mother is Khadījah, the daughter of Zahrā, Shaykh Anṣārī's daughter.
84. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah* by Muhammad 'Adnān Sanqanqī (manuscript, Maṭba'h al-Shām Dār al-Ṭalās, 416 AH).
85. *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah*, ed. and intro. by Āyatollāh Fahrī (Qum: Intishārāt Mufīd), pp. 162–64.
86. In the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, there are four *ṣalawāts* in the supplication alone with the phrase "Muhammad and Muhammad's Household," and once the phrase "him and his Household" and 139 times the phrase "Muhammad and his Household"; see *al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li-Alfāẓ al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah.*
87. The first instance is the supplication in the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah*, which has no title (see Damascus edition, p. 10). It is joined to the earlier part, which is just "praising Allah, glory to Him in the highest," as follows:

والحمد لله الذى منّ علينا بمحمد نبيّه صلى الله عليه دون الامم الماضية.

And in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*

صلّى الله عليه و آله

is added to it. From the second to the fourth supplications again in the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* (Damascus edition, p. 74) it appears as

ومن دُعائه فى التحميد

("from his supplication in praising God"),and in the famous one. It appears as

دعاؤه فی صلاة اللّيل

("his supplication at the [mid]night prayer"):

وَصَلِّ على محمّد إذا ذكر الأبرار. وصلّ على محمّد ما اختلف اللّيل والنهار. وَصلّ عليه بعد الرّضا

("and bless Muhammad when mentioning the righteous, and bless Muhammad in different times of night and day, and bless Muhammad after contentment"). The fifth supplication on page 93 is:

ومن دعائه لاهل الثغور

("of his supplication about the people of the frontiers"), and in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* it is:

دعاؤه لاهل الثغور اللّهمّ وصلّ على محمّد عبدك ورسولك

("of his supplication about the people of the frontiers, O Allah, and bless Muhammad, Your slave and Messenger").

The sixth and seventh supplications (p. 98 and p. 103) are about the month of Ramaḍān. In the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* it is

دعاؤه لدخول شهر رمضان: اللّهمّ وصلّ على محمّد فى كلّ وقت

("His supplication for the start of the month of Ramaḍān: 'O Allah, bless Muhammad all the time'"). The eighth supplication (p. 122) is on the end of the month of Ramaḍān. In the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, it reads:

اللهمّ صلّ على محمّد نبيّنا كما صلّيت

("O Allah, bless Muhammad, our Prophet, as You bless...") The ninth to eleventh supplications (p. 134) are on repentance. In the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, it reads:

اللهمّ صلّ على محمّد كما هَدَيْتَنا به

("O Allah, bless our Prophet, as You guided us through him"), and is immediately continued with:

وصلّ على محمّد صلوة تشفع لنا يوم القيمة والفاقة إليك، وصلّ على محمّد كما أسعدتنا باتباعه

("and bless Muhammad with such a blessing that he will intercede for us on the Day of Resurrection! And bless Muhammad as he led us to the goodness of his submission"). The twelfth supplication (p. 139) is on asking Allah to grant our needs, and in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah*, it is:

وصلّ على محمد صلوة دائمة

("and bless Muhammad with constant blessing"). The thirteen supplication (p. 161) is for morning time, and in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* it is: "O Allah, bless him with Your whole blessing." The fourteenth supplication appears in the famous *Ṣaḥīfah* (p. 208) as:

دعائه فی مکارم الاخلاق: وصلّ علی محمّد کأفضل ماصلّیت علی أحدٍ قبله

("his supplication on the moral virtues: 'And bless Muhammad more greatly that You blessed anyone before him!'")

88. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Bulāgh Publications, 1312 AH), vol. 6, *Kitāb al-Tafsīr*, pp. 120–21.

89. *al-Mu'jam al-Mufaharas li-Alfāẓ al-Hadith al-Nabawī* (London: Brill, 1936), vol. 3, p. 382.

90. This is verse 56 of Aḥzāb (33): *Surely Allah and His angels send their blessings to the Prophet. O you who believe, you [too] send him your blessings and greet him with full respect.*

91. Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-Manthūr* (Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1404), vol. 5, p. 215.

92. *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 5, p. 216.

93. *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 5, p. 216.

94. *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 5, p. 216.

95. *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 5, p. 217.

96. *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 5, p. 216.

97. *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 5, p. 217.

98. *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 5, p. 217.

99. *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 5, p. 217.

100. *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 5, p. 217.

101. *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 5, pp. 217–18.

102. *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 5, p. 218.

103. Fayḍ Kashani in his *Bishārat al-Shi'a* (lithograph, p. 133) says:

> It is unanimously agreed and narrated in all these hadiths that the Prophet has put "blessing on his Household" beside blessing upon himself. Sunnis have also mentioned a hadith in their *Ṣiḥāḥ* that when this verse:
>
> صلّوا علیه وسلّموا تسلیما
>
> was revealed, they asked the Prophet:
>
> یارسول الله! هذا السّلام علیك قد عرفناه فكیف نصلّی علیك؟! فقال: قولوا: اللهمّ صلّ علی محمّد و آل محمّد كما صلّیت علی ابراهیم و آل ابراهیم
>
> "O Messenger of Allah! This is 'saluting you,' so do teach us how to bless you." He stated: "Say: 'O Allah, bless Muhammad and the Household of Muhammad as You blessed Ibrahim and his household.'" This hadith is mentioned by Tha'labī in his *Tafsīr*, and Bukhārī and Muslim in their *Ṣiḥāḥ*.

104. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 94, section 29, pp. 47–72.

105. Qur'an (33:56).

106. *Bihār al-Anwār* (Company), vol. 94, p. 48.

107. *Ṣaḥīfah*, second supplication, trans. Āyatollāh Sha'rānī, p. 21.

108. *Ṣaḥīfah,* twenty-fourth supplication, p. 86.
109. The *Ṣaḥīfah* (Damascus edition), with the introduction by Āyatollāh Fahrī, p. 160, under the supplication

ومن دعائه اذا اصبح

("of his supplications when the dawn breaks"). However, in the discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* it is named

دعاؤه عند الصّباح والمساء

("his supplication in the morning and evening").
110. Āyatollāh Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Muẓaffar, in *Tārikh al-Shi'a,* p. 156, after a detailed discussion about the massacre of the Shi'a in Jabal Āmil by Ahmad Pāshā Jazzār, writes:

> When the French army under the command of Napoleon Bonaparte conquered the city of Shām, the life for the Shi'a and Ṣafdiyyun became easier; however, as soon as the French army left the city and Jazzār took power, he put very intense pressure on the Shi'a and their *'ulamā.* He tortured and killed them and took their properties for over ten years. Imami scholarly books were set on fire in ovens and furnaces and were burnt for a week, which was a great loss for the Imami. The town of Jibāl and its suburbs became empty of the *'ulamā.* Among these groups of *'ulamā* were the great scholar and poet Shaykh Ibrahim Yaḥyā and Shaykh Ali Khātūnī. Ali Khātūnī was the head of a library in the town with five thousand rare and most valuable books. All five thousand books were set on fire in 'Akkā.

111. Yāqūt Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1368 AH), vol. 1, p. 534.
112. According to historians, in 440 AH, a year before, Nasafī was also a delegate of the government to settle the dispute. Therefore, when the people in 441 heard that he wanted to enter the town to interfere in their affairs, they both (the Shi'a and Sunni) agreed to settle their dispute on their own.
113. Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Muẓaffar in *Tārikh al-Shi'a* (pp. 74–76) says that Shi'ism was established and spread in Iraq through a great many difficulties. The Shi'a *'ulamā* who promoted the Imami school were killed and tortured in this path.

We briefly addressed some these difficulties and hostile attitudes of Bani Umayyad and Bani Abbās to the Shi'a *'ulamā.* As an example, *Tārikh Abu al-Fidā'* recorded the events that occurred in 362 AH. It says:

> In this year, Karkh, a city in which the Shi'a were the majority, was set on fire. Wazir Abu al-Faḍl, who was a harsh man, fanatic against the Shi'a, was in charge of fighting Shi'ism in this city. He sent one of his officers called Ṣāfī along with a huge number of soldiers to Karkh to attack the people and Shi'a *'ulamā.* On the way to Karkh, Ṣāfī burnt several places until the fire reached Karkh. A huge fire encircled Karkh,

> and some seventeen thousand people were killed in the flames. Three hundred shops, a great many houses, and thirty-three mosques were burnt.

For more about these tragic incidents, see Ibn Athīr's *Tārīkh* on the events of the years 401, 406, 408, 443, and 444. For example, on page 443, he says: "In Karkh, an event more disastrous than the world has ever witnessed occurred. Ibn Juzī, in his book *al-Muntaẓam fi Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa al-Umam*, volume 8, reported the events that took place in 441. The author of this book writes about tortures and mass murders of the people and the destruction of their houses and mosques.

On the events of the year 448, Ibn Juzī writes that they killed Abu Abdullah Jullāb Shaykh al-Bazzāzīn for his extreme belief in Islam. They hung his corpse in front of his shop. On page 172, it is mentioned that in the year 449, in the month of Ṣafar, they suddenly attacked Abu Ja'far Ṭūsī in Karkh. They took all his belongings and property and burnt them down altogether. There were also a great many other aggressive acts against the Shi'a during these years. The book *al-Ḥawādith al-Jāmi'ah* by Ibn Fūṭī is another historical source in which many such events that took place in Baghdad have been reported.

Another very serve attack against Shi'ism was during the years 641, 648, and 653. The Othmani dynasty took away Iraq from the Ṣafavid kingdom. They burnt down Shi'a libraries, killed many Shi'a *'ulamā*, and carried out a great many hostilities against people faithful to the Imami school.

114. Ra'īs al-Ru'asā was a title given to Abu al-Qāsim Ibn Maslamah Ali Ibn Hasan Ibn Ahmad, the minister of Qāim bi Amrillah who was the first minister of the caliphate for twelve years. He was killed by Basāsīrī in 450. Ibn Kathīr, in his *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 12, p. 68 says:

> Raī's al-Ru'asā was very tough on the Shi'a. He commanded them not to mention
>
> حَيَّ عَلَى خَيْرِ الْعَمَلِ
>
> in their call prayer. Instead their caller to prayer had to twice say
>
> الصّلوة خيرٌ من النوم
>
> in their dawn prayer. He also asked the Shi'a to wipe out
>
> مُحَمَّدٌ وَعَلِيٌّ خَيْرُ الْبَشَرِ
>
> from the entrance doors of their mosques. Raī's al-Ru'asā was commanded to kill Abu Jallāb, the chief of the Shi'a. They killed him in his shop.

115. Ibn Athīr al-Jazarī, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1385 AH), vol. 9, from p. 561 onward.

116. *al-Ghadir*, vol. 4, pp. 308–10.

117. Ahmad Ibn 'Inabah, *al-Fuṣūl Fakhriyyah* (Mashhad: manuscript no. 12405, Library of Āstān Quds), p. 189.

118. *al-Mu'jam al-Mufahars li-Alfāẓ al-Hadith al-Nabawī*, vol. 3, pp. 343–415.
119. *Bihār al-Anwār* (Company, 1302 AH), vol. 94, p. 48, hadith 4; Ṣadūq, *Amālī*, p. 45.
120. In the annotation of page 105 of the book, the name of the compiler is printed as Zāmī, not Ilzāmī. Zāmī is the Arabic of Jāmī, which means from the city of Jām.
121. Mīr Dāmād in his commentary on *Ṣaḥīfah* p. 45, says:

> Amīd al-Dīn was a pillar of Islam and a great Imami scholar. Sayyid Ni'matullah Jazāy'irī has said in his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah* p. 2: "Ali Ibn Sakūn is of the well-known scholars of the Imamiyyah"; Āyatollāh Mīrzā Hasan Sha'rānī has said in his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah* p. 2: "Both of them were of the great scholars of the Imamiyyah." In *Ijāzat al-Kabīra* the author of *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 109, p. 27 narrates: "'Allāmah Majlisī, from his father, from Sayyid Fakhkhār, from Shaykh Abi al-Hasan Yaḥyā Ibn Baṭrīq, from Shaykh Imam 'Amīd al-Ru'asā Hibatullah Ibn Hāmid Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ayyūb, have listed all the books of these two scholars."

122. Mīrzā Muhammad Ali Mudarrisī Chahardehī, *Sharh-i Ṣaḥīfah-yi Fārsī* (Maktabat al-Murtazawiyyah), pp. 4–5
123. *Sharh-i Ṣaḥīfah* by Mīr Dāmād, p. 45.
124. *Sharh al-Ṣaḥīfah-yi Jazāy'iri*, called *Nūr al-Anwār fi Sharh Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* (lithograph), p. 3. Let it be known that Ibn Sakūn died in 606, and Amīd al-Ru'asā in 609.
125. Mir Dāmād, *Sharh-i Ṣaḥīfah*, p. 45.
126. Mīr Dāmād in his *Sharh-i Ṣaḥīfah*, p. 45 says:

> 'Amīd al-Dīn is not 'Amīd al-Ru'asā. In *Rīyāḍ al-'Ulamā*, Sayyd Ni'matullah Jazāy'irī, in his commentary of *Ṣaḥīfah*, p. 2 has explained the reasons as follows: 1) 'Amīd al-Ru'asā has a higher rank than Sayyid 'Amīd al-Dīn because he was the student of Sayyid Fakhkhār Ibn Mu'id Mūsawī. 2) 'Amīd al-Ru'asā is the same as Sayyid 'Amīd al-Ru'asā Hibat Ibn Ḥāmid Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ayyūb Ibn Sli Ibn Ayyūb. For more on this matter see *Rīyāḍ al-'Ulamā*, vol. 3, p 259, and vol. 4, pp. 309 and 375.

127. The term

غُر

is plural for

أغر

which means bright and illuminated.

لَهَامِيمِ

is plural of

لُهْمُوم

which means generous, great, compassionate, and merciful.
128. Mīr Dāmād, *Sharh-i Ṣaḥifah*, p. 46.
129. *Riyāḍ al-Sālikīn* (lithograph, 1334) , pp. 5–6; and manuscript edition (Qum: Jāmi'a-yi Mudarrisīn), vol. 1, pp. 53–54.
130. Mīr Dāmād, *Sharh-i Ṣaḥīfah*, pp. 46–47.
131. Muḥaddith Jazā'irī, *Sharh al-Ṣaḥīfah*, p. 3.
132. *Bihār al-Anwār* (Company), vol. 110, p. 63.
133. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 110, p. 44, no. 38.
134. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 110, p. 46, under no. 39.
135. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 110, pp. 56–59, hadith no. 41.
136. In *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 109, p. 29, where he mentions the means of a narration, he makes it clear that Arabi Ibn Musāfir 'Ibādī was Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Idrīs 'Ajlī.
137. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 109, p. 62, hadith no. 42.
138. That is, Sayyid Ghīyāth al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs.
139. It refers to Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ḥammād Wāsiṭī, whom we have already addressed.
140. *Bihār al-Anwār* (Company), vol. 25, chapter *al-Ijāzāt*, p. 100 (lithograph); vol. 109, p.13.
141. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 109, p. 14.
142. The author of *al-Ma'ālim* in the margin of this book says: "According to the hand-writing of my father, which has been reported by Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn as well, the correct name of this person is al-Sayyid al-Sa'īd Kamāl al-Dīn al-Raḍī al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad al-Āwī." It seems this view is correct.
143. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 109, p. 40; (Company) vol. 109, p. 106.
144. According to the First Majlisī, p. 126, it is Shaqrah instead of Sha'rah.
145. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 109, p. 47–48; (Company), vol. 109, p. 108.
146. Mullā Abdullah Afandī Iṣfahani, in his introduction to *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thālithah*, makes a very interesting point that we mention here briefly: On pages 11—13, he says:

> However, praise be to Allah, by His greatest assistance, we achieved what we wanted. We traveled almost around the world from town to town, city to city, and investigated wherever we were and searched for the different copies of *Ṣaḥīfah*, and finally we got what we were looking for. Apart from what we were trying to find, we came across ten different copies of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Thālithah*. The difference between the ten copies is in their chain of hadiths, among which are some old hadiths, like the hadith of Muhammad Ibn Wārith from Husayn Ibn Ashkīb, who is from the area of Khurasan and was one of the authorized companions of the tenth Imam, Ali Hādī, and Imam Hasan Askarī. I had seen some of these old hadiths in an ancient copy which was with 'Amir Ibn Hārūn Mutawakkil Balkhī that was written by Ibn Muqlat. These writers had changed the style of the manuscript, which is called Naskh, to the Kūfī

style. I also viewed the hadith of Ibn Ashnās Bazār, who was a famous scholar.

Moreover, it included the hadith of the shaykh and jurist Abu al-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Hasan Ibn Shādhān, from Ibn 'Ayyāsh Jawharī, because he has addressed this issue in his *Ṣaḥifah* from Abu Abdullah Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ubaydullah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Ayyūb Ibn 'Ayyāsh Jawharī Ḥāfiḍ in his house in Baghdad, from Abu Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ja'far Ibn Ubaydullah Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib as follows: Ibn Akhī Ṭāhirī 'Alawī, from Abu al-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Muṭahhar Kātib, from his father, from Muhammad Ibn Shalqān al-Miṣrī, from Ali Ibn Nu'mān 'Alam, up to the end of the names of narrators. And so are the hadith of Ibn 'Ayyāsh Jawharī and the hadith of Tal'ukbarī. Two other hadiths are from Vazīr Abu al-Qāsim Husayn Ibn Ali Maghribī, and from Dhehnī Kermānī Zamāshirī. There also many hadiths from the later generations such as Kaf'amī in *al-Balad al-Amīn* and some others of his hadiths.

147. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 110, pp. 51–59.
148. *Rīyāḍ al-Sālikīn* (lithograph, 1334 AH), p. 5, (Qum: Jāmi'a-yi Mudarrisīn), vol. 1, pp. 49–50.
149. *Nūr al-Anwār fi Sharh al-Ṣaḥīfah-al-Sajjādiyyah*, p. 3.
150. *Rīyāḍ al-Sālikīn* (lithograph, 1317 AH), p. 6; (Jāmi'a-yi Mudarrisīn's printing), vol. 1, p. 58
151. Mīr Dāmād, *Sharh-i Ṣaḥīfah*, p. 45.
152. *Nūr al-Anwār*, p. 3.
153. *Sharh Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjāyyah*, Allāmah Mudarrisī Chahārdehī, preface, p. 5.
154. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 110, p. 59.
155. The translation and introduction of Sayyid Muhammad Meshkāt that is published along with the introduction of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah Sajjādiyyah* with the Persian translation of Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn Balāghī (1369), pp. 6–14.
156. Sayyid Ahmad Fahrī, *Sharh wa Tarjumaal-Ṣaḥīfah al-Ṣajjādiyyah*, vol. 1, introduction of the translator, pp. 4–9. It must be known that he has re-printed the main discovered *Ṣaḥīfah* in Shām. This copy was written by Muhammad 'Adnān Sanqanqī, published in Shām by Maṭba'h al-Dār al-Ṭalās. In the beginning of the book, he has explained five of eight advantages. We addressed his explanation of the Fārsī translation.
157. In *Rīyāḍ al Sālikīn* (lithograph, 1334 AH), p. 6; (lithograph foolscap size, Jāmi'at al-Mudarrisīn), vol. 1, p. 54 , the author, Sayyid Ali-Khān Kabīr Madanī, says that the term

حدّثنا

means recording something from the Greatest Sayyid, either by hearing from him dictate it to people or reading it from a book, both of which are methods of recording hadiths. The scholars of the science of hadith have unanimously confirmed that if a narrator personally hears a hadith from the shaykh, or he

doubts whether another person has also heard it, in this case he should start narrating the hadith by saying

حدّثنا

And if he himself reads the hadith from the Shaykh, he says

أخبرني

If in his presence, another person reads it for the Shaykh, he starts it with

أخبرنا

Among the Shaykhs of hadiths it is not permissible to replace the terms of

حدّثنا

and

أخبرنا

with one another; and they have followed this rule when writing books. However, the term

انبأنا

is a word that can be used when a hadith has been exchanged between two narrators, or someone read or listened to a hadith from others. Otherwise, there is no difference in the literal meaning of

إنباء

and

.إخبار

158. Sayyid Ali-khān Kabīr Madanī in *Rīyāḍ al Sālikīn*, pp. 6–7; (lithograph foolscap), vol. 1, pp. 58–69, has mentioned the chains of *Ṣaḥīfah*, and here we are going to relay his discussion:

> ...there is nothing mentioned in the book of *Rijāl* about Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Bahā' al-Sharaf. And Shaykh Abu al-Hasan Ali Ibn Ubaydullah Ibn Bābwayh, in his *al-Fihrist*, has praised and called Shaykh Abu Abdullah Ibn Shahryār one of the famous shaykhs of the Shi'a; he has branded him a jurist. He was the treasurer of Imam Ali's shrine in Najaf. Shahryār is a non-Arab name that means that great man of the town. And Shaykh Abu Abdullah was the son-in-law of Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah, Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ṭāwūs, who had married his daughter. And this woman became the mother of Abu Ṭālib Ḥamzat Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Shahryār, as is understood from the book of *al-Yaqīn* by Sayyid Ali Ibn Ṭāwūs. I did not find 'Ukbarī Mu'addal in the books of the *rijāl*s of the companions; however, Sam'ānī has mentioned it in the book of *al-Ansāb*, and said:

> Some shaykhs in Baghdad and Isfahan have quoted him to us. He died in 472. His father, Abu Naṣr Muhammad, has narrated from a group of people, as well as his son Abu Manṣūr, and he died in 'Ukbarī in 420—and he was a reliable person. And his uncle Abu al-Hasan 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Husayn Ibn 'Abd al-Azīz 'Ukbarī Mu'addal was a trustworthy, pious man. He died in 419 in 'Ukbarī.

Abu al-Mufaḍḍal Muhammad Ibn Abdullah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ubaydullah Ibn Buhlūl Ibn Hammām Ibn Muṭṭalib Ibn Hammām Ibn Baḥr Ibn Maṭr Ibn Marrat al-Ṣughrā Ibn Hammām Ibn Marrat Ibn Dhuhl Ibn Shaybān: about this person, Najāshī says:

> He traveled all through his life in search of hadiths, but later on he lost his ability to record the hadiths, and the scholars of hadith accused him of being forgetful. He has many books; among them are *Sharf al-Turbah, Mazār Amīr al-Mu'minīn, Mazār al-Husayn, Faḍāy'il al-Abbās, Kitāb al-Du'ā, Man Ruwīya Hadith Ghadīr al-Khum, Risālat fi Taqiyyah wa al-Idhā'ah, Man Ruwīya an Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn, Faḍāy'il al-Zayd, al-Shāfi fi 'Ulūm al-Zaydiyyah, Akhbār Abu Ḥanīfah,* and finally his book of *al-Qalam.* And I visited this shaykh (Shaybānī) and heard a lot of hadiths from him. And then I avoided listening to his hadiths but only listened to the hadiths that in one way or another related to both of us.

And Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah in his *al-Fihrist* has said: "He [Shaybānī] used to know many hadiths by heart, although a few of our companions believed that he was weak in hadiths. He had written and compiled a few books like *al-Wilādāt al-Tayyiba, al-Farāyiḍ, al-Mazār,* and some others. Some of our companions have narrated all his hadiths for us."

Ibn Ghaḍā'irī has said about him: "He is reliable, but a wrongdoer of a person. I have seen his books. There are some chains, but without texts in them, and there are some texts without chains. I am certain that we have to avoid the hadiths whose narrator is only this man."

'Allāmah has mentioned him twice in *al-Khulaṣah,* once in a way similar to how Najāshī mentioned him and once more like Ghaḍā'irī. And Ibn Dāwūd has mentioned him three times in his *al-Rijāl;* once under reliable and twice under unreliable narrators. Allah knows better!

However, concerning Sharīf Abu Abdullah Ja'far Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Hasan Ibn Ja'far Ibn Hasan Ibn Hasan Ibn Amīr al-Mu'minīn Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, Najāshī, after recounting his lineage, says: "He is father of Abu Qirāṭ and his son is Yaḥyā Ibn Ja'far. He has narrated hadiths and is very famous and reliable among those who are searching for hadiths, and so is he trustworthy among our companions. He used

to listen (to hadiths) and did well. He had a long life, and his position was elevated. He was the author of *Ṭārīkh al-'Alawī* and *Ṣakhrat wa Bi'r.*" Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Muhammad says: "Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn Muhammad Ja'ābī related to us saying: 'Ja'far has narrated all his books for us. He died in Dhi al-Qa'dah, 308, at the age of about ninety. It is said that he was born in Sirrmanra'ā, in the year 224.'"

Let it be known that his age of ninety years old and the date of his birth do not match. And 'Allāmah in brief says: "His death was in 380, which also does not match, so it was apparently recorded in the wrong way."

However, Najāshī, concerning Abdullah Ibn Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb Zayyāt, says that Fayyūmī has said: "He become famous for a speech in which he asked the people of a town to allow him to marry a girl, so he was known as Khātib (speaker), or in the form of an exaggeration, i.e., Khaṭṭāb. So there is no way for this man to be mentioned in our companions' books."

Najāshī, about Ali Ibn Nu'mān 'Alam, has said: "It is narrated from the Holiness Imam Riḍā saying that his brother Dāwūd is better than he is. And his son Hasan Ibn Ali and his son Ahmad have also narrated that Ali Ibn Nu'mān was a rightful and trustworthy man. He had a book of his own that many people benefitted from it. In the book of *Rijāl,* there is no man called Ali Ibn Nu'mān except him."

Balkhī, from Najāshī, about 'Umayr Ibn Thaqafī, has said: "Mutawakkil Ibn Omayr Ibn Mutawakkil has narrated the supplications of the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd as follows: 'Husayn Ibn Ubaydullah narrated for us the supplications of the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Ibn Akhī Ṭāhir, quoting his father Omayr Ibn Mutawakkil, and he too from his father Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd.' See Najāshī, *Rijāl* (Qum: Intishārāt Jāmi'at al-Mudarrisīn), p 301."

Let it be known that his first statement is that the narrator of the *Ṣaḥīfah* was Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd Mutawakkil Ibn Omar, but it becomes clear in its chain that Mutawakkil was the narrator of his grandfather's *Ṣaḥīfah,* as it is mentioned in the text of *Ṣaḥīfah.* None of the companions has approved Mutawakkil's apart from his grandson Hasan Ibn Dāwūd (Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-Rijāl,* p. 157, no. 1256).

Āqā Mīrzā Abu al-Hasan Sha'rānī in his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah,* p. 5, says that Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn was not in the book of *Rijāl,* and Shaykh Ṭūsī and Najāshī mentioned Mutawakkil Ibn 'Umayr Ibn Mutawakkil. Of course, the copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah* that is with those great shaykhs is more accurate than this one. As they had access to a *Ṣaḥīfah* in which Abu al-Faḍl Shaybānī does not exist and Tal'ukbarī has narrated it from Ibn Akhī Ṭāhir, and he too from Muhammad Ibn Muṭahhar, from his father, Mutawakkil Ibn 'Umayr, and we must trust their copies.

Moreover Āyatollāh Sha'rānī, on p. 4, mentions that the duration of the three narrators was over 251 years, and when we asked Sayyid Ali-khān Shirazi about the greatness of the chain, he said:

> There were three persons: 'Ukbarī, Shaybānī, and Sharīf Abu Abdullah. 'Akbari died in 472, and after the fourth century, they had to narrate from Shaybānī. And Shaybānī was still alive after 400, and Sharīf Abu Abdullah had died in 308, and if Shaybānī met him at his death and learned any hadith from him, and also if he was quite mature enough to understand the subjects he was asking him about, then he must have been born before the year 300, and at his death he must have been a hundred years old. So perhaps 'Ukbarī has narrated it by an agent from Shaybānī, but the agent's name is not mentioned.

159. Āyatollāh Mudarrisī Chahārdehī, in his *Ṣaḥīfah* commentary, p. 10, says: "This Shaykh Muhammad was a jurisprudent and a very pious man, and he was given a title "Mufajja" because of his excessive sorrow and concern for the pure Household. He was a rightful Imami and adorer of his religion."

160. It must be known that what Ḥājj Mahdi Ilāhī Qumshi'ī has explained in the Fārsī translation of the *Ṣaḥīfah* on page 16 about this subject does not seem right. He has said: "Sa'īd Muhammad, son of Ahmad Ibn Shahryār (the son-in-law of Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah, the late Ṣadūq, may Allah be pleased with) related to us that Abu Manṣūr Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd al-Azīz 'Ukbarī Mu'addal has presented the *Ṣaḥīfah* to Shaykh Ṣadūq and then recited it to him in my presence and I was listening to what he recited."

However, firstly we have to say that as we will see in the annotation, Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Shahryār used to be the treasurer of the grave of Imam Ali, and he was the son-in-law of Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah al-Ṭūsī, not Shaykh Ṣadūq, and calling al-Ṭūsī bythe name Ṣadūq is not done in the book of *rijāls*.

Secondly, the word *ṣadūq* means a very righteous person, which is used as an adjective for Abu Manṣūr Muhammad 'Ukbarī Mu'addal. And it was he who was explaining the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Abu al-Mufaḍḍal Shaybānī, and his hadith was presented to Shaykh Ṣadūq.

161. In *Sharh Ṣaḥīfah* by Mahdi Ilāhī Qumshi'ī (lithograph), p. 8, it is mentioned that the age of Imam Muhammad Bāqir was fifty-five years old. It is because he was born in 59, and died in the month of Rabī al-Ākhar, 114. There are other dates for the Imam's death.

162. In Ilāhī Qumshi'ī's *Sharh Ṣaḥīfah*, p. 10, the author says that Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq was born in the year 83 AH in Medina, and in the month of Shawwāl, in the year 148, he passed away when he was sixty-five. And it has also been said that he was sixty-eight years old; therefore, he must have been born in the year 80.

163. The introduction for all copies of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah*.

164. *Riyāḍ al Sālikīn* (Jāmi'at al-Mudarrisīn edition), vol. 1, p. 200.

165. *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 46, p. 363; *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 4, p. 188.
166. *Ṣaḥīfah-i Mutarjim*, with a commentary by Abu al-Hasan Sha'rānī, p. 5.
167. *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Kāmilah al-Sajjādiyyah* (Damascus: Ṭab' Dar al-Ṭalā'a), p. 227.
168. *Riyāḍ al-Sālikīn*, vol. 1, p. 100.
169. *Ta'sīs al-Shi'a li 'Ulūm al-Islam*, p. 285.
170. *Tārīkh Ibn Kathīr*, vol. 9, p. 330.
171. Abu Zuhrah, *al-Imam Zayd* (Dār al-Fikr al-Arabi), p. 6; Abu al-Faraj Isfahani, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibīn* (Lebanon: Ma'rifat), p. 129.
172. *Musnad Imam Zayd*, Introduction, p. 2.
173. *Musnad Imam Zayd*, Introduction, p. 2.
174. Abi al-Fallāḥ 'Imād Ḥanbalī, *Shadhrāt al-Dhahab fi Akhbar man Dhahab* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1350 AH), p. 157, vol. 1; Abu Zuhrah, *Imam Zayd*, pp. 44–66.
175. Abu Zuhrah, *Imam Zayd*, p. 233.
176. *Musnad Zayd*, Introduction, pp. 4–5.
177. *Musnad Zayd*, Introduction, pp. 4–5; *al-Rawḍ al-Naḍīr*, vol. 1, p. 28.
178. *al-Rawḍ al-Naḍīr*, vol. 1, p. 28.
179. Abu Zuhrah, *al-Imam Zayd*, p. 233.
180. *al-Rawḍ al-Naḍīr*, vol. 1, pp. 25–47.
181. Abu Zuhrah, *al-Imam Zayd*, pp. 235–58.
182. *al-Rawḍ al-Naḍīr*, vol. 1, p. 28.
183. *al-Rawḍ al-Naḍīr*, vol. 1, p. 28.
184. *al-Rawḍ al-Naḍīr*, vol. 1, p. 28.
185. *Musnad Zayd*, Introduction, p. 9.
186. *Musnad Zayd*, p. 103; Muhammad 'Ajāj al-Khaṭīb, *al-Sunnat Qabl al-Tadwīn* (Dār al-Fikr, 1401 AH), pp. 368–73.
187. Ya'qūb Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* (Ṭab'a Ḥaydarī), vol. 1, pp. 343–67.
188. *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, pp. 271–72.
189. See Shaykh Ṣadūq, *'Uyūn 'Akhbār al-Riḍā* (lithograph, 1275 AH).
190. Mihrās is a spring on Uḥud Mountain. The poet refers to Ḥamzat Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who fell and was killed by the enemy in the Battle of Uḥud.
191. *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, pp. 69–77.
192. *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, pp. 274–75.
193. *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, p. 269.
194. See Aḥmad Ibn Abi Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh Ya'qūbī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣārim, 1379), vol. 3, p. 106.
195. In *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, p. 273, it is said:

> Yaḥyā Ibn Omar is Abu al-Husayn Yaḥyā Ibn Omar Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Husayn Ibn Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, who is one of the Zaydiyyahs' leaders. If you want to know his opinion about the Shi'a, refer to *Omdat al-Ṭālib* by Ibn Muhannā, p. 263, where he says: "His uprising was in Kūfa, and he invited people to Imam Riḍā from the progeny of Muhammad. He was one of the most pious men with a bending back because of hard work! He was pioneer in helping and sup-

porting them." He then continues: "Muhammad Ibn Abdullah fought with him..."

196. *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, pp. 75–76; Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, known as *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, ed. Muhammad Abu al-Faḍl Ibrahim (Egypt: Dār al-Ma'ārif), vol. 11, p. 89; *Tārīkh Ya'qūbī*, vol. 3, p. 221.
197. *Tārīkh Ya'qūbī*, vol. 3, p. 221.
198. *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, p. 274.
199. Ḥimmān is a district in Kūfa.
200. *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 75.
201. *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, p. 64.
202. *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, p. 39.
203. *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, pp. 57–69.
204. Sūrat al-An'ām , 83–86; the complete verses are:

وَتلكَ حُجَّتنا آتَيْنَاهَا ابراهيم على قومه نرفع دَرَجاتٍ من نشاء إنّ ربّكَ حكيمٌ عليمٌ. وَوَهبنا له اسحق و
يعقوب كُلاًّ هَدَينا ونوحاً هَدَينا من قبل ومِنْ ذُرِّيَّته داودَ وسُلَيمانَ وأيّوب ويُوسفَ وموسى وهارونَ و
كذلك نجزى المحسنين. وزكريّا ويحيى وعيسى وإلياسَ كُلٌّ من الصّالحين. واسماعيل واليسع ويونس و
لوطاً وكُلاًّ فضّلنا على العالَمين.

That was Our argument which We granted to Abraham against his people. We raise up in ranks anyone whom We will.
Surely your Lord is All-knowing, All-wise.
And We gave to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob—all [of them] We guided.
So did We guide Noah before, and from his offspring David, Solomon, Job, Joseph, Moses and Aaron; thus We reward the good-doers;
Zachariah, John, Jesus and Elias who were of the righteous; and Ishmael, Elisha, Jonah and Lot, and all [of them] We preferred over the worlds.

But the main meaning of our translated verse is: "From the lineage of Noah, Dāwūd, and Sulaymān"; it is because Ilyās is mentioned in the verse, while he is not of the children of Ibrahim. Therefore, the pronoun must refer to Noah, and it is clear that all Banī Ibrahim with Ilyās are Noah's children.
205. *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, p. 295.
206. *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, vol. 7, p. 420.
207. The Prophet says: "His name is the same as my name." However, it is narrated in some hadiths: "His name is the same as my name, and his father's name is the same as my father's name." Perhaps this version of the hadith has been invented by the followers of the Muhammad Ṣāḥib Nafs al-Zakiyyah, because they knew him as Mahdi as well, and his father's name was Abdullah, which is the name of the Prophet's father.
208. Shaykh Abbās Qumi, *Muntaha al-Āmāl* (lithograph, Intishārāt Ilmiyyah Islamiyyah), vol. 1, p. 195.
209. Manṣūr's name was similar to that of his brother, Abdullah; therefore, both brothers were known as Abdullah Ibn Muhammad.
210. *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, vol. 7, pp. 468–94.

211. *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, pp. 500, 522, and 523.
212. In *al-Nizā' wa al-Takhāṣum bayn Banī Umayyad wa Banī Hāshim* (Najaf: 1386 AH), Miqrīzī has addressed Manṣūr's hostility to Banī al-Hasan; see pp. 53–55.
213. Riyāḥ Ibn Othman Murrī was the governor of Manṣūr in Medina. Mustashār 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Jandī in *al-Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq*, pp. 124–25, says: "When Ribāḥ Ibn Othman was ruling in Medina, his army attacked the house of the Household. He imprisoned their men and then took the other members of the family into streets, and while all were chained, they forced them to march in front of the people! Constant torture had made them sick and very weak, and they lost the energy to walk. Then they moved them to Kūfa, where they put them in prison."

Masūdī in *Murūj al-Dhihab* says: "They gathered them in a very dark place where they couldn't distinguish day from night. They tortured some of them to death; in the end, they demolished the ceiling above them so that none of them could survive. So they were buried under the ruined roof and no one knew what happened to them!"
214. *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, p. 537.
215. It is written in *Muntaha al-Āmāl*, vol. 1, p. 197, that the color of Muhammad's body was naturally like white, but due to receiving lashes, it had become dark, similar to the skin of black people! And the lashes had injured one of his eye-sockets, and it was bleeding. Again, on p. 199, he says: "Manṣūr had twice sworn allegiance to Muhammad Nafs al-Zakiyyah, once in Masjid al-Ḥarām and once more in Abwā', a small town near Medina. Once when Muhammad was with his wife and his little baby hidden in the mountains of Raḍwā', a man from Manṣūr was chasing them, but they ran away. Abu al-Faraj has narrated that in this incident, the child fell down and was cut into pieces!"; See also *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*.
216. *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, pp. 540–41.
217. In *'Aqrab al-Mawārid*, the author says:

> The term
>
> الزَّمّارَة
>
> in Arabic means a cane used around a dog's neck, as it is said:
>
> > al-Ḥajjāj was brought to Sa'īd Ibn Muṣayyib in
> >
> > الزَّمّارَة.

He also says: "It is a bent and rounded cane, which is used for dogs' collars."
218. *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, p. 543.
219. It is mentioned in *Riyāḍ al-Sālikīn* (1334), vol. 1, pp. 131–32:

> He is Abdullah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib. His nickname is Abu Muhammad, known as Maḥḍ. Abdullah had great

honor from among the great men (shaykhs) of Abu Ṭālib. He sometimes used to compose poems about Islam.

بيضٌ حرائرُ ما هممن بريبةٍ   كظباء مكّة صيدهنّ حرامُ
يُحسبنَ من لين الكلام فواسقاً   ويصدّهنّ عن الخنا الإسلامُ

The noble women were never inclined to that which is doubtful; they resemble the gazelles of the [king's] court and so is their style of hunting.

Their voices are so fair, soft, and charming that you say they are sinful street women, who are deliberately speaking so sweetly, and are after committing sins; however, Islam has kept them away from prostitution—they do not go after such things!

In *Rawḍah,* by means of his chains, Thiqah al-Islam has narrated from Ali Ibn Ja'far saying that:

Mu'attib or perhaps someone else related to me:

Abdullah Ibn Hasan sent his message-carrier to Imam Ṣādiq, informing him that Abu Muhammad claimed: "I am braver and more generous than you are, and my knowledge is greater than yours!"

To his message, the Imam responded:

Concerning the "bravery," by God, so far there has been no occasion to distinguish your bravery from your cowardice. And concerning generosity, the generous man is one who obtains things in the right way and spends in the right way. However, about knowledge, let it be known that your father, Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, freed one thousand slaves, so if you are a knowledgeable person, mention the names of five of them!

The message-carrier took the message to Abdullah. Once again Abdullah sent to the Imam another message saying:

إنّكَ رجلٌ صحفي

"Indeed your knowledge is among the pages of the books!" To his remark, the Imam answered:

Tell him,

إنّها والله صحف ابراهيم وموسى وعيسى ورثتها عن آبائي

> "By God, certainly I have received my knowledge from Ibrahim, Mūsā, and 'Isā, so I have obtained my knowledge from my ancestors!"

(*al-Kāfi*, vol. 8, pp. 363–64, hadith 553).

Abu Ja'far Manṣūr used to say to Abu Qaḥāfah, but mockingly: "In history, there is no one like Muhammad to claim the caliphate while his father is still alive except Abu Bakr Ibn Abu Qaḥāfah." See *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, p. 547.

Abu al-Abbās Saffāḥ greatly respected Abdullah Ibn Hasan Majd. It is narrated:

> One day Abdullah Ibn Hasan told Abu al-Abbās: "There has not passed a day in my life in which I had hundred dirhams!" Abu al-Abbās told him: "Now you will have it." Therefore, he commanded his treasurer to pay him one hundred thousand dirhams. Then during his caliphate, he did not tell him anything, and he was living in peace with his family. Abu al-Abbās never spoke of his generosity to him until he died. However, when his brother Manṣūr took power, in contrast to his brother, he was very harsh and rough to the sons of Abi Ṭālib. He suspected that they were going rise up against him. In 145 AH, Manṣūr returned home from the *ḥajj* pilgrimage via Medina. While still in Medina, he arrested Abdullah Ibn Hasan and his brother, Ibrahim, as well as some of their families. He tied up all of them with rope and chains, and took them to a prison in Kūfa.
>
> After that, Manṣūr commanded Abdullah be killed at the age of seventy-five.

220. This story has been also explained in *Aqrab al-Mawārid*.
221. *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, vol. 7, p. 548.
222. *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, p. 549.
223. *Quhi* is a white suit related to a small village between Nishabur and Hirāt
224. The narrator of this event is 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abi al-Mawālī.
225. *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, the same reference, p. 551.
226. *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, p. 560.
227. *Muntaha al-Āmāl*, vol. 1, pp. 199–202.
228. *Tārīkh Ṭabarī*, p. 560.
229. It means: "Aḥwal, Akshaf, and Akhḍar refer to the same son of yours whose name is widely spread everywhere, and who will rise up and kill."
230. It is narrated in an annotation of *al-Wāfi*: "As if he figuratively called Imam Bāqir 'Uncle,' though he was the cousin of Abdullah Maḥḍ. But it is probable that he was Imam Sajjād, because he was the real cousin of Abdullah as well as his cousin."
231. The word

لقاء

means "fright," fear in the field of fighting. The Highness Zaynab stated to the people of Kūfa: "At the time of fighting you are very frightful!"
232. *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, pp. 358–66.
233. *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, vol. 3, p.140.
234. Sa'īd al-Khūrī, *Aqrab al-Mawārid* (Beirut: Maṭba'a Mursalī, 1889) has mentioned it this way:

ارفَضّ الدَّمعُ ارفضاضاً: سال وترشّش. يقال: ارفضّ عرقاً والجرحُ سال قيحه.

235. *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, pp. 356–57; through this hadith it becomes quite clear that right from the beginning, Zayd had in his mind to rise up even at the time of his brother's Imamate, because the demise of Imam Muhammad Bāqir was at the time of Hishām Ibn 'Abd al Mālik, Banī Umayyad caliphate, on the seventh of Dhu al-Ḥajjat al-Ḥarām, in the year 114. This is according to the hadith of Qumi in *Muntaha al-Āmāl*, and according to *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* the martyrdom of Zayd was on Friday, the third of Ṣafar al-Muzaffar, in the year 121. Therefore, there were six years and two months between the deaths of these two. Zayd had in mind to rebel before this time, and it becomes quite clear why Yaḥyā had said to Mutawakkil Ibn Hārūn in the introduction of *Ṣaḥīfah Ṣajjādiyyah*:

قدكان عمّى محمدبن على أشار على أبى بترك الخروج وعرفه إن هو خرج وفارق المدينة مايكون إليه مصير أمره.

"Certainly my uncle Muhammad Ibn Ali told my father to revolt. He made it clear what would happen later if he revolted and then left Medina."
236. *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, pp. 366–67.
237. It is said that in this story, Fuḍayl Ibn Rassān seems to be correct, not Fuḍayl Ibn Yasār, similar to what we narrated from Māmqānī and from Kashshī in this section, because Fudayl Ibn Yasār very likely was martyred in Kūfa with Zayd. He had a very high position and rank, so the Imam would not tell him: "Perhaps you have been in doubt about fighting the people of Shām"!

Fuḍayl Ibn Yasār is the person that the Imam told, along with three of his companions living in Mecca:

أنتم والله نورالله فى ظلمات الارض

"By God, you are the Light from God in the darkness of the earth!"

This hadith about Fuḍayl Ibn Yasār has been mentioned in *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, vol. 1, p. 468; and from Ṣadūq in *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* from Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan, Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Walīd, from Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ṣaffār, from Ahmad Ibn Abi Abdullah Barqī, from his father, from Muhammad Ibn Hasan Ibn Maymūn, from Abdullah Ibn Sanān, and from Fuḍayl Ibn Yasār. Moreover, Ṣadūq has narrated the same hadith from Fuḍayl Ibn Rassān in the same way Kashshī has related it in the biographical book of Ḥimyarī from Naṣr Ibn Ṣabbāh, from Isḥāq Ibn Muhammad Basarī, from Ali Ibn Ismā'īl, from Fuḍayl Rassān, although both versions are mostly

the same, but there are some differences between them. Anyway, as we said, it is very unlikely that the person in the hadith is Fuḍayl Ibn Yasār.

238. In *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, vol. 1, from pp. 467–71, Māmqānī has discussed the condition of Zayd Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn. He says: "Zayd is that famous Mujāhid (the struggler in the way of God), who is the brother of the Imam Bāqir, and his followers are known as Zaydiyyah."

Now as some people have the wrong image of him, it would be appropriate here to give some explanation about him. Shaykh Ṭūsī in his book *al-Rijāl* sometimes introduces him as one of Imam Sajjād's companions, and sometimes he considers him the companion of Imam Bāqir. In addition to this, he says: "Abu al-Husayn, Zayd, is Imam Bāqir's brother." He then introduces him a companion of Imam Ṣādiq as well. Māmqānī has added that Zayd died in the year 121 AH, when he was forty-two years old. At the end, he says: "Muslim scholars unanimously agree on Zayd's vast knowledge, bravery, and piety. Concerning the aforementioned information about Zayd, there are a lot of hadiths and information, so Ṣadūq in his *'Uyūn* has allocated a section on it."

Shahīd al-Thānī, in his *Qawā'id*, in the chapter of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil, has explained: "Zayd's uprising was with the permission of the Imam."

Shaykh Mufīd has said in *Irshād*:

> Apart from his brother, Abu Ja'far, Zayd Ibn Ali was the most distinguished, pious, generous, brave, and just among his other brothers. He rebelled with the sword and constantly invited people to enjoining the good and forbidding the evil, and demanded revenge for Imam Husayn. Sharīf Abu Muhammad Hasan Ibn Muhammad has narrated from his grandfather, from Hasan Ibn Yaḥyā, from Hasan Ibn Husayn, from Yaḥyā Ibn Musāwir, from Abu al-Jārūd, saying: "I arrived in Medina and asked the people about Zayd Ibn Ali, and they said: 'We know him; he is the man who always recites the Qur'an.'"

It is also narrated from Hashīm:

> I asked Khālid Ibn Ṣaffān, who was speaking about Zayd Ibn Ali about him, where I could meet him." He said I could meet him at Raṣāfa. I then asked: "What kind of a man is he?" He answered: "Nobody ever saw him unless he was crying excessively, with tears running down from his eyes!" Most people among the Shi'a believed that he was an Imam, and their reason for it was that he rose up with the sword, and was inviting people to Imam Riḍā. Some Shi'a supposed that Zayd's purpose in uprising was to promote himself, but the truth is that he admitted that his brother, Imam Ṣādiq, is the Imam of his time. Probably the main reason for his uprising was that once he went to meet Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, and Hishām had already invited some people of Shām and had commanded them to sit shoulder to shoulder in the meeting room so that Zayd could not sit next to Hishām. Therefore, after entering the

room, Zayd told Hishām: "Not a single slave of God has a higher position so as not to be in need of hearing the advice, as no slave of God is lower than to be able to fulfill the duty of advising people. Therefore, O the Commander of the Faithful, I advise you to adopt divine piety and follow it!"

Hishām told him: "You believe that you deserve to be the caliph. O you! How are you fitting for the caliphate! Have you forgotten that you are the son of a slave woman?!"

Zayd answered him:

> But I see no one greater than the Holiness Prophet, and he was from a slave woman! If being the son of a slave woman should be considered a flaw, then Ismā'īl, the son of Ibrahim, would never have become a messenger.
>
> O Hishām, is the position of the prophethood greater in the sight of God, or the caliphate? In addition, being the son of a slave does not humiliate me—while I am grandson of the Prophet, may God's blessing be upon him and his Descendant, and himself the son of Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib.

Hishām stood up and commanded his people: "This man must not be among my army tonight!"

So Zayd left Hishām while saying:

إنّه لم يكره قومٌ قطّ حرّ السيوف إلّا ذلّوا.

"Never does a group consider sharp swords to be unpleasant until they are afflicted."

When Zayd entered Kūfa, the people gathered around him and asked him to let them swear allegiance to him to go to battle, but soon after, they broke their promise and left him alone, so Zayd was killed by the enemy. After his martyrdom, his body was hanged and left unattended in that state for four years. Hishām then martyred the people of Kūfa and carried the news of Zayd to Imam Ṣādiq. The news had a bad effect on the Imam, and he was deeply saddened. The Imam donated one thousand dinars of his own to those families of the people who were killed along with Zayd. The martyrdom of Zayd took place on Monday, the second of the month of Ṣafar, in 120 AH. The story of Zayd is addressed in detail by Shaykh Mufīd in his *Irshād*.

Ibn Dāwūd has also addressed Zayd's life in his *Rijāl*. He has mentioned the events that Shaykh Ṭūsī already addressed in his *Rijāl*. Ibn Dāwūd, after

mentioning those events, says: "The Holiness Ṣādiq has fulfilled his loyalty, and has beseeched God to bless him."

In *'Umdat al-Ṭālib,* the author narrates Zayd's words that we related from *Irshād*. After mentioning the following saying of Zayd to Hishām:

لا يكره قومٌ قطّ حرّ السّيوف إلّا ذلّوا.

"Never has a group considered sharp swords to be unpleasant until they were afflicted," the author of *'Umdat al-Ṭālib* continues:

> When Hishām was informed of his statement, he said: "Did you not think mistakenly that this family was completely ruined? By my soul, a tribe that has such a successor will never come to ruin!" When Zayd Ibn Ali returned to Kūfa, the Shi'a used to meet him constantly; they gradually swore allegiance with him, and it was not long before he had fifteen thousand followers. It is recorded in his book that apart from Kūfa, his followers were from Madā'in, Baṣra, Wāsit, Mosel, Khorasan, Ray, Gorgān, and Jazīra.

Māmqānī also says:

> The people keep joining Zayd, until Bassām Sayrāfī brought a letter saying: "...Zayd Ibn Ali rebelled on Wednesday, in the month of Ṣafar, and then he was alive on Wednesday and Thursday, but was killed on Friday! And along with him many others were killed."
>
> We went to Imam Ṣādiq and handed over the letter to him. As soon as he read the letter, tears ran down from his eyes, and then he said:
>
> انا لله و انا اليه راجعون، عند الله احتسب عمّى انه كان نعم العمّ، إنّ عمّى كان رجلاً لدنيانا و آخرتنا، مضى و الله عمّى شهيداً كشهداء استشهدوا مع النّبىّ صلى الله عليه و آله وسلّم و علىّ و الحسن والحسين .
>
> "Indeed we are from God and our return is to Him. I am certain that my uncle is now with God. My uncle was really a blissful man; indeed, he was the man of us in this world and the next. By God, he was a martyr like the martyrs who were killed for the Prophet and al-Hasan and al-Husayn."

Māmqānī continues, saying:

> There is a hadith narrated from Kashshī in his *Rijāl* about Sulaymān Ibn Khālid. The chain of this hadith goes back to 'Ammār Sābāṭī. Sābāṭī has said:
>
> > When Zayd rebelled, Sulaymān Ibn Khālid also rebelled with him. When Zayd was standing somewhere in the battlefield, and we too

were standing away from him, a man asked me: "What is your opinion about Zayd? Do you think he is better than Ja'far?" Sulaymān says: "I told him: 'One day in the life of Ja'far is better than the whole life of this man [Zayd]!'"

That man rode his horse toward Zayd and told him all about our conversation. Of course I [Sulaymān] too followed him and was standing next to him. I heard he was telling Zayd:

جعفر امامنا فی الحلال و الحرام

"Ja'far is our Imam in God's prohibitions and orders."

Māmqānī continues:

In *Amālī,* Shaykh Ṣadūq, by means of his chains from Ibn 'Omayr, Ḥamzat Ibn Ḥamrān, has narrated that he said: "I went to meet the Holiness Ṣādiq. After our greetings, he asked me: "Where are you coming from?" I answered: "I am coming from Kūfa."

After I told him what I had seen, the Holiness starting crying, and the tears were running down from his eyes. I asked: "O son of the Messenger of God, why are you crying so much?"

The Imam said:

"I remember my uncle Zayd, and remember how the enemies tortured him." I asked: "Which case of his do you remember?" He answered:

It was when he collapsed after they had shot him in the forehead, and then his son Yaḥyā went to him and dropped down before his father saying: "Happy are you as you will meet the Messenger of God, Ali, Fatimah, Hasan, and Husayn soon." Zayd told him: "O my son, this will happen!"

Then Yaḥyā called an ironsmith, who removed the arrow from his forehead, but after that Zayd died. They carried his body to Bustān Zā'idah. They buried him and [in order to hide that place] they ran over his grave a river that was next to it.

Among them, there was a slave from the people of Sind witnessing the burial ceremony. On the next day, the slave went to Yūsuf, the son of Omar, may God's curse be upon him, and informed him of Zayd's burial place. Yūsuf immediately went to the same spot, dug the grave, and took out the body from the grave. Then he carried it to a ruined place in Kūfa and hanged it there for almost four years to be witnessed by the people! After such a long period, he com-

> manded his men to burn his bones and let the wind spread the ashes around!

> Then he says: "I heard Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq saying: 'No one will rise up against Hishām without being killed.' We informed Zayd of this statement of the Imam. Zayd said: 'I myself bore witness that someone was cursing the Messenger of God in the presence of Hishām, but he did not get irritated at all! By God, if I have no more that one supporter, I will rebel against Hishām.'"

Then Māmqānī continues and says that there is also a problem somewhere else. That is: if Zayd believed in the Imamates of both Imam Ṣādiq and Imam Bāqir, then what would be the meaning of the claim of some people that Zayd said something in agreement with the Sunni creeds! Fāḍil Majlisī says: "Most of such statements of Zayd must be interpreted as his dissimulation, or for refutation of Husayn Ibn 'Alawān and 'Amr Ibn Khālid.

After narrating this statement, Muḥaqqiq Waḥīd Behbahānī has said: "The most probable case is the first one [dissimulation], because the family of the Prophet were not free to reveal their faith except during the period in which Banī Umayyad were busy with Banī Abbās." Māmqānī says: "That which Waḥīd Behbahānī has mentioned may be true."

239. Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-A'māl* (lithograph, 1320 AH), pp. 578–81.

240. *Iqbāl*, pp. 582–83.

241. Sayyid Ni'matullah Jazā'irī, in *Nūr al-Anwār* (commentary on *Ṣaḥīfah Sajjādiyyah*), says:

> Manṣūr commanded his men to bind them with chains, make them sit on bare animals, and then force them to stand at the mosque so that the passersby would curse and humiliate them. However, people avoided cursing them. They were taken to the mosque of the Prophet. At that moment, Imam Ṣādiq went there and stood at the gate of the mosque. While he was facing the audience, he stated:
>
> لعنكم الله يا مَعَاشر الانصار- ثلاثاً- ما على هذا عاهدتم رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله وسلم ولا بايَعتموه أما والله إن كنتُ حريصاً ولكنني غُلِبْتُ وليس للقضاء مدفع
>
> "May God's curse be upon you, the group of Anṣār." He repeated it three times, and said: "You have not sworn allegiance to the Prophet in this way; have you promised him such behavior toward his offspring? By God, I want to do something to release them, but I am defeated! In fact, no one can overcome this fate."

> He said what he wanted to and then left the crowd. After this event, the Imam was very depressed and became ill with a fever. For twenty days, he cried constantly.

242. Concerning Muhammad and Ibrahim Muḥaddith, in *Nūr al-Anwār*, pp. 7–8, Sayyid Ni'matullah Jazā'irī says:

> Kulaynī has narrated a lengthy hadith about Muhammad and Ibrahim. According to this hadith, Imam Ṣādiq used to prevent them from rising up against the government. It is why some of the historians have considered them to be cursed by God. The historians have likened the foregoing matter to this statement of Imam: "So far as my knowledge tells me, your uprising will not be a success and you will be killed." However, this reasoning cannot be right, because at least some of them—if not all—have rebelled to revenge the bloodshed of Imam Husayn, or to stop the oppression against Banī Hāshim. Also, there is no doubt that either of them is better than Banī Umayyad to govern and to protect the innocent people against the tyrannical government. It is obvious that Muhammad and Ibrahim are different from Zayd, because those two hurt the Imam, but Zayd was never against the Imam.

Then on page 5, Jazā'irī says: "However, apart from Zayd, our companions have pointed out some problem concerning Yaḥyā, Muhammad, and Ibrahim's conditions and identities! It is because they had oppressed the Imam a few times. However, what we can be certain about is the Holiness Imam's weeping and mourning over their corpses and his sad condition. This reaction might remove doubts about all of them."

We would comment here and ask who among the Shi'a has not harmed the Imams? However, their great souls require forgiving their followers. It is narrated that God, glory to Him, becomes angry to see the Shi'a revealing the secrets of the Imams. God has stated He will ruin such people with His harsh chastisement! Therefore, God informed Mūsā al-Kāzim: "This year, I will destroy your followers." The Imam had the honor to state: "O my Creator! I would like to be sacrificed for my followers, but they remain alive." If we see such kinds behavior of the Imams to strangers, we should know what their behavior toward their children and close relatives was like! And this in spite of the fact that their uprising can be justified after they had been disgraced, and they had their properties looted, and their families and close relatives were captured. It was after they had been branded as the Kharijites, and they were told: "If your grandfathers [the Prophet] were with truth, you would not be tortured so much!" And something similar to this behavior rouses the anger of any people.

243. In *Riyāḍ al-Sālikīn*, (1334 AH), pp. 15–16 (Jāmi'at al-Mudarrisīn edition, vol. 1, pp. 116–19), it is mentioned that Muhammad and Ibrahim, the two sons of Abdullah, were the same ones who rebelled against Manṣūr.

Shahristānī, in his *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, says: "Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd handed over the affair of the leadership to those two in Medina who rose up, and then Ibrahim set out for Baṣra, and people gathered around those two and they were killed. That is the whole story about them." However, with regard to Muhammad ,whose nickname was Nafs al-Zakiyyah or Abu Abdullah or Abu al-Qāsim, he used to chew his words when speaking. He was squint-

eyed, and there was an egg-sized black spot between his two shoulders. Therefore, people supposed that he was the promised Mahdi, because in a famous hadith, the Prophet said: "Indeed, Mahdi is my son, his name is as my name, and his father's name is as my father's name."

It is narrated:

> Once Manṣūr was helping him mount his animal, and some people asked him what the specialty of that man whom he was serving was! Manṣūr answered: "Woe upon you all! This is our Mahdi from the Household. This is the very Muhammad Ibn Abdullah!"
>
> Manṣūr, along with some of the Banī Hāshim, swore allegiance to him and his brother. However, later when people were swearing allegiance to Banī Abbās, they decided to do so, and Muhammad and Ibrahim hid somewhere during the time of Saffāḥ.
>
> When Manṣūr took power, he knew that they were going to rebel against him; therefore, he captured their fathers together with some of their close relatives.
>
> One day, their father, Abdullah, told his sons when they secretly went to prison to meet him: "Abu Ja'far Manṣūr can stop you from living magnanimously, but he cannot stop you from dying magnanimously!"

Kulaynī in his *al-Rawḍah* has narrated from Mu'allā Ibn Khunays that he has said:

> I was with Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq when Muhammad Ibn Abdullah entered. The Imam felt pity for him, and tears ran down from his eyes. I told the Imam: "Today I saw you in such a sorrowful condition that I had never seen before; what is the reason for this!" The Imam said: "Today I felt sorry for him, because he claimed something that is not for him. I did not see in Ali's book that I should say that he was the caliph of this nation, or the leader of them!
>
> The worst thing that Muhammad did was that when he rebelled in Medina, he immediately asked Imam Ṣādiq to swear allegiance to him, but the Imam rejected his request. Then he ordered his agents to imprison the Imam. Accordingly, his people took away the property of the Imam and that of his close friends who had not followed Muhammad after his rebelling. Of course, God did not give him a longer life to enjoy it, and he was killed soon after that!

There is a hadith from Imam Bāqir saying:

> That squinted-eyed man is an omen among his tribe from Banī al-Hasan. Muhammad invites people and claims a position for himself that he

does not deserve. When he decided to rebel, he planned with his brother Ibrahim to rebel in one day. Ibrahim went toward Başra, and there he felt ill. Muhammad rebelled in Medina, and then when Ibrahim got better, his friends informed him that Muhammad had been killed.

The story of Muhammad is as follows: Manşūr equipped a huge army under 'Isā Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ali Ibn Abdullah Ibn Abbās and sent them to battle. Muhammad started fighting them outside in the skirts of Medina, but Muhammad's whole army left the battlefield and left him alone. After Muhammad saw this situation, he went to home and ordered his family to heat the oven. When the oven was heated, he threw into the fire all documents in which the names of his companions and fighters were written. After burning them, he left his home for the battlefield called Aḥjār Zayt. He fought there and was finally killed on that battlefield. His death at that place gave the impression to the people that he was Nafs al-Zakiyyah (the pure soul), the person that the Prophet in a hadith had spoken of. That hadith says: "One of the sons of Hasan, Şāḥib Nafs al-Zakiyyah, will be killed at Aḥjār Zayt."

His death was in 145 AH, in the month of Ramaḍān. It is also said that his death was on the twenty-fifth of the month of Rajab. He was forty-five when he died. This can be correct, because was born in the year 100 AH!

However, Ibrahim's nickname was Abu al-Hasan. He was a strong, powerful, and quite learned man. It is said about him that he had a tendency to the Mu'tazilite school of thought.

His uprising was on the eve of a Monday, mid-Ramaḍān, in the year 145. The people of Başra swore allegiance to him, and gave him the title of Amir of the believers. He was a respected man among the people. They were satisfied with his manner and liked him to lead the people.

Abu Ḥanīfah supported Ibrahim and wrote a letter to him as follows:

> I sent you about four thousand dirhams, and I have not more than this. If people's deposits were not with me as a trustee, I would have joined you! But be advised that if you would win the victory over your enemy, do what your father did with the people of Şiffīn. Do kill any one of them who flees away from the battlefield. Remember, do not do what your [grand]father did with the people of Jamal, because if one is injured, one will surely come back to help his group.

It is narrated when Manşūr got Abu Ḥanīfah's letter, he showed more hostility against Ibrahim, so as soon as he heard the news of his uprising, he ordered 'Isā Ibn Mūsā to come to Medina and fight against him.

Ibrahim set forth from Başra and came face to face with the army of 'Isā Ibn Mūsā in a village of Kūfa called Bākhmary, where the battle erupted between two armies. 'Isā Ibn Mūsā's army was defeated, and the fighters escaped the battlefield. Ibrahim shouted to his soldiers not to follow the escapers!

On the other hand, when 'Isā's fighters understood that no one was following them, they thought that Ibrahim's companions had left the battle-

field; therefore, they returned and attacked them, killing Ibrahim and his companions except for a few. In any case, when Manṣūr first received the news about 'Isā's defeat, he was very angry; however, later on he was informed that they had been victorious over Ibrahim, and in the meantime brought him the head of Ibrahim. They had put it on a big tray and put it in front of Manṣūr. When Manṣūr looked at it, he said: "I very much liked him to obey us and to be under our control."

Ibrahim's murder was on the twenty-first of Dhil al-Qa'dah. It is also said that it was in the month of Dhi al-Ḥajja, in the year 145 AH, so he died at the age of 48.

244. *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, vol. 1, p. 471.

245. In *Riyāḍ al-Sālikīn* (lithograph, 1344 AH), pp. 8–9 (Jāmi'at al-Mudarrisīn edition), vol. 1, pp. 73–75, after explaining Shaykh Mufīd's statement about Zayd Ibn Ali, Sayyid Ali-Khān Madanī says:

> The reason for Zayd's uprising against Banī Marwān was as follows: Zayd was going to go to Medina to visit Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik to complain about Khālid Ibn Mālik Ibn Harath Ibn Ḥakam, who was the Amir of Medina, but Hishām did not let him enter the town. In the meantime, Zayd wrote a letter to Hishām and explained his story with Khālid. In reply, Hishām said: "Return to your town!" It was then Zayd swore by God that he would never turn back to Khālid Ibn Harth, so he stayed in Medina. Having heard of Zayd's insistence, Hishām let him enter his court. In their meeting, Hishām told him: "I have been informed that you are interested in the caliphate and trying to get it! You are not in such a position to claim the caliphate, because you are a son of slave woman!" Zayd then said: "No one deserves to be the man of God, except those who have been chosen by Him, and God has chosen Ismā'īl Ibn Ibrahim as His prophet, and you know that Ismā'īl was the son of a slave woman." In response, Hishām said: "What is your cow brother [referring to Baqar instead Bāqir, Zayd's brother] doing now?!"
>
> Zayd became excessively furious and said: "The Messenger of God called him the Splitter of Knowledge; however, you call him a cow! How far your opinion is from his opinion! And in the Hereafter, you and my brother will be far from each other as well, so surely he will reside in Paradise while you will be in Fire!"
>
> After Hishām heard Zayd's answer, he said to his men: "Take the hand of this rough, stupid person and drag him out of my palace." Zayd was exiled with some of his followers to Medina, but as soon as Hishām's people left him alone, Zayd went his way from Shām to Kūfa. After he arrived into Kūfa, many people swore allegiance to him. At that time, Yūsuf Ibn Omar Thaqafī was Amir of Kūfa and Iraq. According to history, a very heavy battle occurred between Zayd and Yūsuf Ibn Omar, and except a few, the people broke their allegiance with him and left him alone, and finally someone shot an arrow at him and wounded his head.

Zayd could not be cured of this injury and was martyred on Monday, the second of Ṣafar, 122 AH. After his death, they hanged his body in the suburb of Kūfa for four years. His nude body and bones through time became covered with spiders' webs. After he was killed, his head was sent to Medina, and they hanged it by the grave of the Prophet for a day and night.

Jarīr Ibn Ḥāzim has narrated:

In Medina, I dreamed that the Messenger of God was leaning against the pole where the head of Zayd was hanging, and the Prophet was saying:

هكذا تفعلون بولدى

"This is what they did to my son!"

When Hishām died and Walīd Ibn Yazīd became caliph, he wrote to Yūsuf Ibn Omar: "...and then as soon as you receive my letter, do your best for the people of Iraq, and then burn the rotten corpse of Zayd and scatter the ashes in the sea!"

Yūsuf Ibn Omar brought the corpse down and burnt it and then cast the ashes into air. After this incident, Ḥakam Ibn Abbās Kalbī composed this short elegy: "We crucified Zayd on the trunk of a palm—nobody can see a guide crucified on the trunk!"

This elegy was handed to Imam Ṣādiq. The Holiness Imam, with shaking hands, raised it to heaven and prayed to God: "O God, if this man [Ḥakam Ibn Abbās Kalbī] is speaking nonsense, please send Your Dog to dominate him!"

Some time later, Banū Umayyad sent him on a mission to Kūfa, and on the way, a lion attacked him, tore his body to pieces, and devoured him! When this news was taken to Imam Ṣādiq, he dropped down prostrate and said:

الحمد لله الذى أنجز لنا ما وعدنا

"All praise belongs to God Who fulfilled what He promised to us."

See Jarīr's narration in *Bihār al-Anwār* (Company), vol. 46, p. 192.

246. Ahmad Amīn Miṣrī, in *Fajr al-Islam* (Beirut: 1969) on page 272 says:

The Zaydiyyah are the followers of Zayd Ibn Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib. Their religion is more moderate than mainstream Shi'ism and closer to the Sunnis. There is a possibility that Zayd studied with Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā, the chief of the Mu'tazilah, and was somehow influenced by Wāṣil, because Zayd believed one can follow a

> less knowledgeable person while the more learned one is alive, so he said: "Although Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib was more learned than Omar and Abu Bakr, one still can follow Omar and Abu Bakr."

Similarly, Ahmad Amīn, in his *Zahr al-Islam*, vol. 4, p. 109, says:

> The biggest dispute between the Mu'tazilah and Rawāfiḍ is that according to a hadith, a large group of people went to Zayd Ibn Ali to swear allegiance to him. They had in their minds to fight with Banī Marwān. At this stage, when his followers were ready for a war, they asked Zayd to reveal his opinions and principles. For example, they asked his opinion about Abu Bakr and Omar. Zayd said:
>
>> May God have mercy upon them, and forgive both of them. I have not heard any of my household and companions speak ill of them; no one has said anything unpleasant behind their backs, so my opinion about them is:
>>
>> إنّا كُنّا أحقّ بِسُلطانِ رَسُولِ الله صلّى الله عليه (و آله) وَسَلَّمَ مِنَ النّاسِ أجْمَعِينَ، وَإنَّ القَوْمَ استَأثَرُوا عَلَيْنا وَدَفَعُونا عَنهُ. وَلَمْ يَبلُغْ ذَلِكَ عِندَنا بِهِمْ كُفراً. قَدْ وَلُّوا فَعَدَلُوا فِي النّاسِ وَعَمِلُوا بِالكِتابِ وَالسُّنَّة.
>>
>> We deserve the guardianship more than all other people, but those people thought that they had priority over us for this position! Nevertheless, this supposition of theirs does not lead us to consider them non-Muslim. They took the responsibility of leading the people carefully, and then behaved with justice among the people; they acted upon the Book (Qur'an) and the tradition of the Holy Prophet.
>
> However, Zayd's explanation was not satisfactory to them, and therefore they broke their promise with him and left him on his own. Zayd asked them: "Do you leave me at this crucial time when I really need you?" Since this event, that group was known as the Rawāfiḍ. And some people call them Rāfiḍa.
>
> There are some other tribes among the Shi'a, who are other than Rawāfiḍ. Some of them exaggerate in their religion, and some are more moderate. There are also some people who have mixed the principles of the two religions of the Shi'a and Mu'tazilah.

With regard to Ahmad Amīn's saying, I would say that whatever he has related to Zayd concerning his devotion to Abu Bakr and Omar, and that he admitted their caliphate, could be Zayd's saying among the advocates of the two Shaykhs and the opposition of the Household, because we know that Zayd was instructed by the Imams, and he would never act contrary to their

will! So probably during that war, his statement was interpreted on the basis of dissimulation.

Some may say that when one fights with one's enemy, there is no room for the tactic of dissimulation! The answer to this claim is that his uprising was against Banī Marwān, not against the two Shaykhs. It is probable that most of his companions and fighters were from among the followers of the two Shaykhs, and in that crucial condition, Zayd could not tolerate their abandonment of him.

Zayd Ibn Ali is one of those two narrators of *Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*. According to his son, Yaḥyā, Zayd used to read the *Ṣaḥīfah* and always recite its supplications. In supplication forty-eight, which is about 'Īd al-Aḍhā and Friday, Zayd rejects the two Shaykhs and openly says:

اللّهمّ إنّ هذا المقام لخلفائك وأصفيائك ومواضع امنائك في الدّرجة الرّفيعة الّتي اختصصتهم بها
قد ابتزّوها، وأنت المقدّر لذلك، لا يغالب أمرك ولا يجاوز المحتوم من تدبيرك كيف شئت وأنّى
شئت، ولما أنت أعلم به غير متّهم على خلقك ولا لإرادتك حتّى عاد صفوتك وخلفائك مغلوبين
مقهورين مبتزّين، يرون حكمك مبدّلاً، وكتابك منبوذاً، وفرائضك محرّفة عن جهات
أشراعك، وسنن نبيك متروكة.

O God, this station belongs to Your vicegerents, Your chosen, and the position of Your trusted ones, the position that You designated for them [Imams], but have been forcibly occupied by others! But Your Command will never be dismissed, the inevitable fate of Your Will [to people] will not change! You determine, and whenever You determine, in that which You know best, You are not accused for Your will!

Then Your chosen friends, Your vicegerents, were overcome, vanquished, forcibly beaten; they saw Your decree replaced, and Your Book discarded. Your orders were distorted from Your laws, and the traditions of Your Prophet deviated!

247. *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl*, vol. 1, pp. 467–71; our explanation is the summary of page 469.
248. *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Khāmithah al-Sajjādiyyah* (Damascus: Maṭb'at al-Fiḥā'), pp. 2–5.
249. *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Khāmithah al-Sajjādiyyah*, introduction, pp. 13–14.
250. In *Muntaha al-Āmāl*, vol. 2, pp. 217–18, the author says:

Imam Jawād's mother was Umm Wuldī, who was called Sabīkah. It is said that Imam Riḍā called her Khayzarān, and that she was from Nawbah and her ancestors were from the household of Māriyah Qibṭiyyah, the mother Ibrahim, son the Prophet. That lady was the most respectable

lady of her own time. According to a hadith, the Prophet pointed to Māriyah and said:

بأبي ابنُ خِيَرَةِ الإمَاءِ النّوبِيّةِ الطَّيِّبَة

"May my father be made sacrifice to the son of the best slave-woman who is pure from the Tribe of Nawbah."

251. *Muntaha al-Āmāl*, vol. 1, pp. 99–203.
252. *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 3, pp. 271–73.
253. In *Manāqib*, vol. 2 (lithograph), p. 76, Ibn Shahr Āshūb has narrated that Omar married Umm Kulthūm., and in the book of *al-Imamah*, Abu Muhammad Nawbakhtī has written that Umm Kulthūm was a little girl, and after Omar's death, Awn Ibn Ja'far married her.

Muḥaddith Qumi has narrated the whole story of Omar's unsuccessful marriage with her in *Muntaha al-Āmāl* (lithograph, Ilmiyyah Islamiyyah), vol. 1, p. 135; Qumi has narrated Omar's death from *Manāqib* by Ibn Shahr Āshūb from Nawbakhtī; Kulaynī, in *Furū' al-Kāfi* (Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islamiyyah, 1307 AH), vol. 5, p. 346, concerning the marriage of Umm Kulthūm by means of his own chains from Imam Ṣādiq has narrated that he had stated:

إنَّ ذَلِكَ فَرْجٌ غُصِبْناه

"Certainly she was a chaste girl and they have usurped her."

It is also narrated by means of another chain from Imam Ṣādiq, saying that:

When Omar asked the Commander of the Faithful to marry her, the Holiness Ali told him: "Umm Kulthūm is just a little girl; it is too early for her to marry!" Omar had a meeting with Abbās and said to him: "In your opinion, is there anything wrong with me?" Abbās asked: "what is the matter?" Omar answered:

خطبت إلى ابن أخيك فردّني. أما والله لَأعوِّرَنَّ زَمْزَمَ، وَلَا أدَعُ لكم مَكْرُمَةً إلَّا هَدَمْتُها، و لَاقيمَنَّ عليه شاهدين بأنّهُ سرق، و لَاقطَعَنَّ يَمِينَهُ.

"I asked the son of your brother to marry his daughter, but he rejected me! But make sure that I will fill up the well of Zamzam and dry the water out, that is, I will disgrace all of you and ruin your nobility! And I will set up two false witnesses against Ali to witness that he has committed theft! And to make matters worse, I will chop off his two hands!"

After this conversation, Abbās went to Ali and informed him what Omar had claimed. Then Abbās asked the Imam to leave this matter to him, and Imam Ali also trusted the marriage's case to Abbās.

254. *Tārikh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk* (Egypt: 1357 AH), vol. 3, p. 270; in the book of *al-Muqaddamāt li Bayān mā fi Rusūm al-Mudawwanāt al-Kubrā*, written by

Abu al-Walīd Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Rushd (d. 52 AH), which is known as an introduction to Ibn Rushd's *Muqaddamah* (Maṭba'at al-Sa'ādat), vol. 1. From page 358 onward the author says:

> Sha'bī has narrated from Omar that in a sermon he delivered for the people, he said: "When you are taking women as wives, do not assign a big marriage gift to your wives. From now on, if I understand one violates the due marriage gift that the Holy Messenger has assigned, I will take it back and deposit it in the public treasury house!" He said it and then stepped down from the pulpit, but in the meantime a woman from the Quraysh went to him and said: "O Commander of the Believers! Tell me, do we have to follow the Book of God or your command?" Omar said: "Obviously, God's Book must be followed. But what do you mean by this question?" The woman said:
>
>> You ordered the people not to exceed the amount of marriage gift that the Prophet has assigned, while God has stated in the Qur'an:
>>
>> وَ آتَيْتُمْ إِحْدَاهُنَّ قِنْطَارًا فَلَا تَأْخُذُوا مِنْهُ شَيْئًا
>>
>> "If you pay the marriage gift of a cowhide full of gold, then you are not permitted to take any of that for you."
>
> In response to this woman's fair word, Omar said twice or three times:
>
> كُلّ أحَدٍ أفقه من عمر
>
> "Everyone is more knowledgeable than Omar!"
>
> Then he returned to the pulpit and addressed the people: "I prevented you from paying extra as a marriage gift, but now I am telling you to pay as much as you like." Therefore, Omar changed the word that he said in front of the crowd. After this event, he also applied it in his case and paid forty thousand dirhams to marry Umm Kulthūm. A similar case is the marriage of the Prophet with Ḥabībah with the same amount, i.e., four thousand dirhams. Ḥabībah was a lady who was sent by Najāshī, the king of Ethiopia, to the Prophet when he embraced Islam. Then the Messenger of God paid the due sum from his own and sent it to her by Sharḥabīl Ibn Ḥabībah. According to the history, this action of the Prophet was not unpleasant, nor did Najāshī pay anything for this marriage to the Prophet.
>
> Sa'īd Ibn Muṣayyib also assigned for his daughter's marriage gift when she married Abdullah Ibn Wadāh only two dirhams according to one narration, or three or four dirhams according to other narrations, while Sa'īd could marry her daughter to rich people and receive four thousand dirhams for her marriage gift.

255. *al-Ghadir*, vol. 6, pp. 95—99, section *Nawādir al-Athar fi 'Ilm al-Omar.*
256.Amīnī says this matter is mentioned in *Tarīkh Ibn Kathīr*, pp. 81–139; Ibn Ḥajar Asqalānī, *al-Iṣābah* (Egypt: Maṭba'ah Muṣṭafā Muhammad), vol. 4, p. 468; and *al-Futuhāt al-Islamiyyah* 2, p. 472.
257. The grave for our daughter is better than a bad husband for her and sons-in-law for the people! This hadith is narrated in *Aqrab al-Mawārid*. From this hadith and the Prophet's description of a bad son-in-law, we can see how much the Prophet was upset of Othman's abuse of his daughter who was Osman's wife.
258. Among the sources about Omar's marriage with Umm Kulthūm is a hadith in *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh* by Ibn Athīr Jazarī, vol. 4, p. 12 in which Juwarit Ibn Asmā says:

كان بسر بن أبي أرطاة عند معاوية فنال من عليّ وزيد بن عمر بن الخطّاب حاضر وامّه امّ كلثوم بنت عليّ فعلاه بالعصا وشجّه، فقال معاوية لزيد: عمدت الى شيخ قريش وسيّد اهل الشام فضربته، و أقبل على بسرٍ فقال: تشتم عليّاً وهو جدّه وابن الفاروق على رووس الناس أترَى أن يصبر على ذلك؟! فأرضاهما جميعاً.

> Busr Ibn Abi Arṭāṭ was with Mu'āwīyah, and Zayd Ibn Omar Ibn Khaṭṭāb, whose mother was Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Ali, was also there, and Busr said something unpleasant about Ali. But Zayd raised his hand-stick and struck him sharply on the head and injured him. Mu'āwīyah told Zayd: "Did you injure a Shaykh from the Shaykhs of the Quraysh and the Sayyid from Shām?" And he turned to Busr saying: "Do you curse his grandfather Ali while he is the son of Fāruq Omar?! And do you think he can bear this assault of yours in the presence of the people of Shām?"
>
> In this way Mu'āwīyah could bring peace between Zayd and Busr.

259. The Twelver Imami believe that Fatimah, peace be upon her, was pressed between the doors and her ribs were broken.

Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' has said that on page 156 of *Jannat al-Ma'wā* (Tabriz: Maṭba'h Shafaq, 1397 AH) by Muhammad Husayn Kāshif al-Ghitā', this incident is narrated as follows:

> From the first century to the eleventh century, many historical sources like Sulaym Ibn Qays (in the first century) have mentioned this incident, and the following sentences are commonly mentioned in almost all sources:

إنّها بعد رحلة أبيها المصطفى ضرب الظالمون وجهها، ولطموا خدّها، حتّى احمرّت عينها وتناثر قرطها وعصرت بالباب حتّى كسر ضلعها، وأسقطت جنينها، وماتت وفي عضدها كالدملج.

> The aggressive oppressors, after the death of al-Muṣṭafā, her father, slapped her and injured her face, and the blow to her face was so heavy that her eyes swelled, her earrings fell off, and she was so pressed so hard behind the door that her ribs were broken. She miscarried her child and died while the effect of the scourges was on her arms.

Since then, the poets of the Household have composed elegies on this event, and the lecturers have spoken about this sad incident and explained it to the lovers of the Household. In this way they have not allowed this historical fact to be forgotten. Some these poets and lecturers are Kumayt, Sayyid Ḥimyarī, Di'bil Khuzā'ī, Namīrī, Salāmī, Dik al-Jinn, and some others.

There are also many contemporary great poets of the Shi'a in the thirteen and fourteen centuries of whom we name just a few here: Khiṭṭī, Ka'bī, Kuwāzīn, and Āl Sayyid Mahdi, who was from Ḥilla.

260. For more details on this historical event, see *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 2, lesson 21.
261. Abu al-Faraj Isfahani, *Aghānī* (Ṭab'a Dār al-Kutub), vol. 16, p. 149.
262. Ibn Ishaq, *Mawsū'at Āl al-Nabī*, ed. Bint al-Shāṭī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Arabi, 1387 AH), p. 827.
263. Shaykh Hādī Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', *Mustadrak Nahj al-Balāghah*, p. 170.
264. *Mustadrak Nahj al-Balāghah*, p. 171; Shaykh Kulaynī has mentioned four hadiths in *Furū' al-Kāfi*, in *Kitāb al-Nikāh*, vol. 5, pp. 534–35. The first hadith is narrated with his own chain from the Imam. In the book of *Nikāh*, in the section on how to greet women, pp. 534–35, four hadiths have been mentioned. The first one is by his chain from the Holiness Imam Ṣādiq, who said: "Imam Ali said: 'Do not greet the young ladies, and do not invite them to have food with you, because the Messenger of God, may God's blessing be upon him and his Household, has said: "Keep silent when meeting such women, and ask them not to go out too much, because their voice is part of their femininity."'"

The second hadith is also by means of his chain, narrating from Imam Ṣādiq, saying: "The Messenger of God greeted the women and would reply to their greetings; however, the Master of the Faithful greeted just the older women, but he avoided greeting the younger ones, and would not eat food with such women."

In the explanation of the first hadith, in *Mir'āt al-'Uqūl*, Majlisī has narrated:

The term

عَيّ

in Arabic means being unable in saying something, referring to the point that young women are not allowed to speak with strangers too much. It may refer to men as well, meaning that men must not speak with them too much.

265. In *Aqrab al-Mawārid*, it is explained differently.
266. Shaykh Mufīd, *Irshād* (lithograph), p. 272.
267. Abu al-Hasan Sha'rānī has explained this story in an annotation in his *Dam' al-Sujūm*, p. 186. *Dam' al-Sujūm* is a translation of *Nafas al-Mahmūm* by Shaykh Abbās Qumi. Sha'rānī narrates the story from of Ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī in *al-Iṣābah*. 'Asqalānī has narrated this story from Ibn Kalbī, who was among the great men of the Imamiyyah at the time of Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq.
268. Muḥaddith Qumi, in *Nafthat al-Maṣdūr fi Tajdīd Aḥzān Yawm al-'Āshūr* (lithograph), p. 25, has mentioned this justification about the heaviness of chainmail.
269. Muḥaddith Qumi, *Nafas al-Mahmūm* (Ṭab' Islamiyyah, 1368 AH), pp. 216–17; Sha'ranī, *Dam' al-Sujūm*, pp. 186–87.
270. Muḥaddith Qumi has narrated in *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, pp. 216–17, and Abul al-Hasan Sha'rānī, concerning the death of the baby in *Dam' al-Sujūm* from Shaykh Mufīd, who has narrated: "Husayn sat in front of the tent and they brought his son, Abdullah al-Husayn, to him. He was a little baby, so he sat him on his lap. A man from among Banī Asad shot an arrow and killed him" (see pp. 186–87).

Abu Mikhnaf has narrated that Aqabat Ibn Bashīr Asadī said that Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Husayn said: "O Banī Asad! You owe us blood! What is my sin that I must see my child lying in blood?"

Abu Mikhnaf said: "They brought the little child of Husayn to him. He was sitting on his lap when one of you shot an arrow and killed the baby. Then Husayn took his blood in his hands and poured it on the ground, saying: 'O God, if You have shut the door of victory from heaven for us, so do give us something better than that; do take revenge on these oppressive people.'"

In *al-Tadkirah*, Sibṭ has narrated from Hishām Ibn Muhammad Kalbī that when Husayn saw them who were eager to kill him, he opened the Qur'an and put it on his head. shouting: "Let this Book of God and my grandfather stay between you and me! O people, why do you want to kill me?"

About what happened on the morning of 'Āshūrā, Kalbī has narrated similar events, which we already explained in detail, and then has added:

> Husayn turned his face and saw another child of his crying from thirst. He took the child in his arms, turned to the enemies, and said: "O people! If you do not have compassion on me, do pity this child." At this moment, a man from among them shot an arrow and killed the child. Husayn wept and then said: "O God! You judge between these people

> and us; they invited me here to help, but now they are killing us!" It was then a voice from heaven was heard saying: "O Husayn, let the baby go; there is a nurse for him in Paradise!"

Then Kalbī says: "Ḥaṣīn Ibn Tamīm shot an arrow and hit the Holiness on the mouth; blood ran down from both lips, and he was weeping and saying: 'O God! I complain to You of what these aggressive people did to my brothers, family, and friends of mine!'"

Ibn Namā says: "And the Imam buried that child with the martyrs of his Household. Muhammad Ibn Ṭalḥah has narrated in *Maṭālib al-Sa'ūl* from *al-Futūḥ* that the Imam had a little baby, and an arrow was shot, and it killed him. He was dyed in blood, so the Imam dug the ground with his sword, and after praying over the corpse, he buried him and read aloud: 'The tribe has become unbelievers and they desired to do what they did!'"

271. *Nafthat al-Maṣdūr fi Tajdīd Ahzān Yawm al-'Āshūr* (lithograph), pp. 38–39; Muḥaddith Qumi says: "It was a custom among the noble women who were affectionate to their husbands that after the demise of their husbands, they set up tents by the graves of their husbands, and were fasting during the day and praying during the night."

Shaykh Mufīd and some other Shi'a and Sunni scholars have narrated that Fatimah, the daughter of Imam Husayn, after the death of her husband, Hasan Muthannā (who died at the age of thirty-five), performed the same custom for a whole year.

272. *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, p. 214; *Dam' al-Sujūm*, p. 184; after reciting this elegy, Ayatollah Sha'rānī says: "It is quite right that this poem be recited by the Imam or someone who has narrated from the Imam about Sukaynah, because she was a chosen lady among the women, and no one was at her level of nobility. Her house was for scholars and poets; almost everyone respected her, and people used to come to meet her from every town and city."

273. *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, pp. 192–93, and *Dam' al-Sujūm*, pp. 164–65, confirm that he had a wife and children. This is narrated from a hadith of Shaykh Kulaynī, from Ali Ibn Ibrahim Qumi, who narrated it from his father, Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Naṣīr Bazanṭī, from Imam Riḍā, who said:

> I asked him a question about a man who had married a woman, and in the meantime, he had married the mother of the father of that girl. The Imam answered: "It does not matter." I said: "We have received a hadith from your father saying that Ali Ibn al-Husayn, Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn, married the daughter of Imam Hasan Ibn Ali and the mother of the daughter of Hasan. And one of the Companions told me to ask you about it." The Imam stated that it was not right. Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn married the daughter of Imam Hasan and the mother of Ali Ibn al-Husayn!

Ḥimyarī, by means of valid chains, has narrated the above hadith.

274. *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, pp. 188–89; *Dam' al-Sujūm*, pp. 159–61. See also *Irshād* by Shaykh Mufīd.

275. Sha'rānī, in *Dam' al-Sujūm*, annotation number 2, p. 160, says: "Omar Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqāṣ was from the Quraysh and from the family of Banī Zuhrat Ibn Kilāb, and the Imam was from the offspring of 'Abd Manāf Ibn Qussay Ibn Kilāb. So Omar Sa'd had a family relationship with the Imam, but he cut his lineage with the Imam."
276. *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, p. 189; *Dam' al-Sujūm*, p. 160.
277. Ayatollah Sha'rānī, in his annotation on *Dam' al-Sujūm* on page 161, says:

> Muḥaddith Qumi, in his *Nafas al-Mahmūm* on p. 189, has narrated a hadith from *Madinat al-Mu'ājiz* by Sayyid Bahrānī, who has quoted Abu Ja'far Ṭabarī, from Abdullah Ibn Ḥurr, saying: "I saw Husayn Ibn Ali, how once his son Ali Akbar asked him for some grapes. His father, Husayn, touched the pillar of the mosque close to him, and there came fresh grapes and bananas out of it, and when giving them to his son, he said: "God's blessings upon those who love Him are greater than what you just asked me!"

Muḥaddith Qumi states that Ali Akbar had no doubt that his father could prepare water and whatever he wanted to.
278. In his *Maqtal*, Muhammad Ibn Abi Ṭālib says:

وقيل: إنه عليه السلام قال: يابنيّ هات لسانك فأخذ بلسانه فمصّه ودفع إليه خاتمه وقال: أمسكه في فيك وارجع إلى قتال عدوك فإني أرجو أنك لا تمسي حتى يسقيك جدك بكأسه الاوفى شربة لا تظمأ بعدها ابدا.

"It is narrated that the Holiness Sayyid al-Shuhadā said: 'O my beloved, O my son! Let me have your tongue!' The Holiness took his tongue in his mouth. He then gave his ring to the son and said: 'Now put it in your mouth and return to the battlefield! I am certain that before nightfall, your grandfather will meet you, and he will offer you a full bowl of water to quench your thirst!'" *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, p. 189; *Dam' al-Sujūm*, p. 161.
279. *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, pp. 189–91; *Dam ' al-Sujūm*, pp. 161–63.
280. I [the author] have not seen in any *maqātil* the presence of Laylā on the battlefield. Muḥaddith Qumi in *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, p. 193, has also questioned this matter and says: "...I have not come across any sources that say that she was in Karbala on that day."
281. The term

الإبْدَار

means the full moon.
282. This elegy is by Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn 'Abd al-Azīz al-Kātib Tihāmī, who chose his dwelling in Tihāma in Damascus and Jabal 'Āmil. He was an Imami. The author of *Ta'asīs al-Shi'a li-'Ulūm al-Islam*, Ayatollah Sayyid Hasan Ṣadr, on pages 215–16, describes him as follows:

Shaykh Ḥurr in *'Amal al-Āmil fi Ulamā' Jabal 'Āmil* says that Tihāmī is a great scholar and poet. Abu al-Hasan Bākharzī in *Dimyat al-Qaṣr* has narrated about him:

> The people of the Tihāma area were very proud of this person because of his very high position in knowledge and literature. He chose his permanent dwelling in Damascus so as to be the neighbor of Tihāma and benefit from other fields of knowledge in Tihāma. He had a high knowledge of poetry and composed very elegant elegies. He had strong determination as well as his own special desires, which made him the governor. He then decided to move to Egypt. In Egypt, he gained a higher position, and became the top authority of that area. Afterward, some of his companions acted against him, and he lost the power and was put in prison, where his death did not let him see the outside again.

The late Ṣadr says: "He has composed some nice eulogies that show his interest in the Household." Ibn Khallakān has praised him in his writings and has said: "His book of poetry contains many great poems." Ibn Bassām in *Dhakhīra* also says: "He is a person who is eager to help charities. He is a good orator and is a very skillful lecturer in different fields. As the morning chill represents the daybreak, his poem represents the flame made by love and affection! And as the tears of the lovers unveil the intensity of their affection, his poem also reveals his hidden knowledge."

Ḍiyā al-Din, in *Nasamat al-Sahar fi Ḍikr man Tashayy'a wa Sha'ar*, speaks about his poetry, his vast knowledge, and his elegy that he composed on his son's death whose beginning is as follows:

> The command of the death [in the city] is carried out in the desert,
> so what is the rule of this world in the span of life!
>
> The most costly days are passing without our will; we are sitting in
> the fire and calling for water!
>
> The rule is written with a dull alphabet in the hazy air, and you
> want to read it and know what it wants to tell you.
>
> Even if you try to read the command, it is impossible, and in the
> end you hang down your head and cast your glance hopelessly
> on the ground!
>
> I am indeed hopeless in pain and agony, but I am still jealous of
> those who do not cut their coats according to their cloth! Do
> consider the handiwork of God putting some in Paradise but
> their hearts are in Hell!

Why should the life of our star to be so short, as short as the stars of dawn?

I live among my enemy, but he is the neighbor of his Creator; there is much difference between this and that. Flames are everywhere, here and there, but this flame is smoke while that is the fire!

Similar to Ṣadr's narration, Qāḍī Ibn Khallakān in his *Wafayāt al-'Ayān wa Inbā Abn' al-Zamān* has mentioned this story and explained some of his good elegies (see *Wafayāt al-'Ayān*, Bulāq printing, vol. 2, pp. 53–55; *Wafayāt al-'Ayān*, Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādīr, ed. Ihsān Abbāsī, vol. 3, pp. 278–81, no. 471.

283. In *Aqrab al-Mawārid*, it is "O the first martyr, a son from the purest progeny."

284. See Muḥaddith Qumi, *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, pp. 191–93. Sha'ranī has narrated this in *Dam' al-Sujūm*, pp. 163–65.

285. *Nafas al-Mahmūm*, p. 44, narrates this statement from *Bihār al-Anwār*, in which Majlisī narrates from Muhammad Ibn Abi Ṭālib Mūsawī when he narrates a story about a dream of the Prophet.

286. For the full story of Khālid's dispute with Abu Bakr on the issue of caliphate, see *Muntaha al-Āmāl*, vol. 1, p. 89.

287. *Muntaha al-Āmāl*, vol. 1, p. 156.

288. There is a hadith about Sa'd al-Khayr as one of the best Umayyad people faithful to the Imams. Muḥaddith Qumi, in *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb* (Najaf: lithograph, Maṭba'at al-Murtaḍawiyyah, 1349 AH), p. 118, says:

> Sa'd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, from the children of 'Abd al-Azīz Ibn Marwān, was the person whom Imam Bāqir wrote to in a very friendly manner. This letter is mentioned in *Rawḍat al-al-Kāfi* ,which begins with:
>
> بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمّا بعد فإنّي اوصيك بتقوى الله فإنّ فيها السّلامة من التّلف والغنيمة في المنقلب
>
> "In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful, and then, I enjoin on you the piety and being wary of Him, because there is safety against all evils in wariness."
>
> And in another case, the Imam wrote another letter to Sa'd, calling him his brother. The beginning of the letter is as follows :
>
> لا يكون المؤمن مؤمناً حتّى يكون أبغض إلى الناس
>
> "A believer cannot be pious if he is hated by people [Umayyad]."

In *Mir'āt al-'Uqūl,* Allāmah Majlisī has narrated from the book of *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ* by Shaykh Mufīd that Mufīd, by means of his chains from Abu Ḥamzah Thumālī, has narrated:

> Sa'd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik—whom the Imam called Sa'd al-Khayr—as soon as he arrived to the Imam, started mourning aloud. The Imam asked him: "O Sa'd, why are you crying?" He answered: "Why should I not cry? We [Umayyad] are called the cursed tree in the Qur'an!" The Imam said:
>
> > You are not among those people. You are related to us, the Household. Have you not heard the statement of Allah, Glory be to Him, Who states to Ibrahim:
> >
> > فَمَنْ تَبِعَنِي فَإِنَّهُ مِنِّي
> >
> > "He who obeys Me is with me!"?

Concerning faithful people among Banī Umayyad, there is a narration in the introduction of *Ṣaḥīfah Sajjādiyyah* from Imam Ṣādiq saying:

أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ بَدَّلُوا نِعْمَةَ اللَّهِ كُفْرًا وَأَحَلُّوا قَوْمَهُمْ دَارَ الْبَوَارِ. جَهَنَّمَ يَصْلَوْنَهَا وَبِئْسَ الْقَرَارُ

...have you not considered those who exchanged Allah's favor for unbelief, and caused their people to dwell in the abode of ruin, hell, wherein they are roasted; and how evil resting place [it is]!

Riyāḍ al-Sālikīn (1334 edition), under the subheading of *takmilah,* p. 27; and Jāmi'at al-Mudarrisīn edition, under the subheading *tatimmah,* vol. 1, pp. 185–87, concerning the above-mentioned hadith from Imam Ṣādiq, have narrated hadiths from both Shi'a and Sunni. The Sunni one is narrated by Bukhārī in his *Tarīkh* as follows:

> Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Mundhar, and Ibn Mardūya have narrated a hadith about the following verse:
>
> أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ بَدَّلُوا نِعْمَةَ اللَّهِ كُفْرًا
>
> Omar al-Khaṭṭāb: "Have you not considered those who changed Allah's blessing into blasphemy? The verse is about the two tribes of Banī al-Mughayra and Banī Umayyad. However, you defeated Banī Mughayra on the day of Battle of Badr, but Banī Umayyad was given a bit more time to live, by God!"—*al-Durr al-Manthūr,* vol. 4, p. 184.

Apart from that, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Mundhar, Ibn Abi Ḥātam, and Ṭabrānī in *Awsaṭ* and Ḥākim in *Mustadrak* with its correction, and Mardūya, about the above-mentioned verse, narrate from Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib who said: "They are from two Quraysh tribes' debauchery, Banī al-Mughayra and Banī Umayyad. However, Allah wiped out Banī Mughayra on the day of the Battle of Badr, but Banī Umayyad were given a bit more time to enjoy!" *al-Durr al-Manthūr,* vol. 4, p. 184; and from the Shi'a, Ali Ibn Ibrahim has narrat-

ed it from his father, from Muhammad Ibn Abi 'Umayr, from Othmān Ibn 'Isā, and from 'Aba Abdullah, saying:

> I asked the Holiness about the statement of Allah, the Exalted:
>
> ألم تر إلى الذين بدّلوا نعمة الله كفراً
>
> "Have you not considered those who changed Allah's blessing into blasphemy? They are also said to be the most debauched people from the Quraysh. They are from two debauched Quraysh Tribes, Banī al-Mughayra and Banī Umayyad. However, Allah wiped out Banī Mughayra on the day of the Battle of Badr, but Banī Umayyad was given a bit more time to enjoy!"
>
> And then the Imam stated:
>
> ونحن والله نعمة الله التي أنعم بها على عباده، وبنا يفوز من فاز
>
> "By Allah, we are Allah's blessings, and Allah bestows on His creatures through us the "blessings," and they succeed and become victorious through us!" *Tafsīr al-Qumi* (Najaf: Maṭba'ah Najaf), vol. 1, p. 371.

289. See *Nafthat al-Maṣdūr fi Tajdīd Aḥzān Yawm al-'Āshūr,* pp. 24–25.
290. Sayyid Muhammad Mahdi Kharsān, the annotator and editor of *Bihār al-Anwār* (lithograph), vol. 46, p. 124, says:

> Some of those narrator are from early times, like Shaykh Mufid in *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ* (Maktabat al-Ṣadūq, 1379), p. 191; Irbilī in *Kashf al-Ghummah,* vol. 2, p. 267; Rāwandī in *al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarāyiḥ,* p. 195; Sayyid Murtaḍā in *Āmālī,* vol. 1, p. 67–69; Shaykh Husayn Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb in *'Uyūn al-Mu'jizāt,* p. 63 (Najaf), and some other great Sunni scholars like Abu al-Faraj Ibn al-Juzī in *Ṣifat al-Ṣafwah,* vol. 2, p. 54; Subkī in *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah,* vol. 1, p. 153, and Ibn 'Imād Ḥanbalī in *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* vol. 1, p. 142; Yāfi'ī in *Mir'āt al-Janān,* vol. 1, p. 239; Ibn Ākar in *Tārīkh* on the life of Imam Zayn al-'Ābidīn; Ibn Khallakān in *Wafayāt al-'Ayān* about the life of Farazdaq; Ibn Ṭalḥah Shāfi'ī in *Maṭālib al-Su'ūl,* p. 79; Ibn Ṣabbāq Mālikī, in *Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah,* p. 193 (Najaf); Sibṭ Ibn Juzī in *Tadhkirat Khawāṣ al-Ummah,* p. 185; Damirī in *Ḥayāt al-Ḥaywān* in the section of *al-Asad;* Suyūṭī in *Shawāhid al-Mughnī,* p. 249 (Egypt: 1322); Ganjī Shāfi'ī in *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib,* p. 303 (Najaf); Khaṭīb Tabrizi in *Sharh-Dīwān Ḥamāsah,* vol. 2, p. 28; 'Aynī in *Sharh Shawāhid al-Kubrā;* in the margins of *Khazānat al-Adab* by Baghdadi, vol. 2, p. 513; Qirwānī in *Zahr al-Ādāb,* vol. 1, p. 65; Ibn Nabata Miṣrī, in *Sharh Risālah;* Ibn Zaydūn in the margins of *Ghayth al-Masjjam* by Ṣafdī, vol. 2, p. 163; Ibn Kathīr Shāmī in *al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyat,* vol. 9, p.108.

Kharsān also says that among those who have mentioned this elegy are Ṣulī, Jarīrī, and a few others. And Ibn Ḥajar has mentioned it in *al-Ṣawā'iq al-*

Muhriqah p. 198 (Egypt: 1375); Shablanjī in *Nūr al-Abṣār*, p. 129; Ṣawī in *Dīwān Farazdaq*, vol. 2, p. 848.

291. These two lines with a little difference are in *Dīwān* of Farazdaq, edition of Karam Bustānī, vol. 1, p. 47; 'Allāmah Ḥillī has narrated the two lines of poem along with his footnotes in *Minhāj al-Karāmah fi Ithbāt al-Imamah* (lithograph), ed. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, pp. 16–17.

292. *Bihār al-Anwār* (Company), vol. 11, pp. 36–37; (lithograph), vol. 46, pp. 124–28; Ibn Shahr Āshub, *Manāqib* (lithograph), vol. 3, pp. 265–57; (Maṭba'a-yi 'Ilmiyyah), vol. 4, pp. 169–72.

293. *Bihār al-Anwār* (Company), vol. 11, p. 37,(lithograph), vol. 46, pp. 128–30; Muhammad Ibn Omar Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl* (Qum: Mu'assisat Āl al-Bayt, 1404 AH), p. 86; Shaykh Mufīd, *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, p. 191.

294. *Bihār al-Anwār* (Company), vol. 11, p. 37; (lithograph), vol. 46, pp. 128–30; *Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl*, p. 86; *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, p. 191.

295. *Bihār al-Anwār* (Company), vol. 11, pp. 37–38; (lithograph), vol. 46, pp. 130–31; *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, p. 191.

296. Farazdaq, *Dīwān* (Beirut: Ṣādir Dār, 1380 AH), ed. Karam Bustānī, vol. 2, pp. 178–81; commentator of *Bihār al-Anwār*, Sayyid Hasan Kharsān, on page 127–28, says: "Another edition, which is annotated by Abdullah Ismā'īl Ṣāwī, in volume 2, page 848, has mentioned only six lines of Farazdaq's elegy, although he has mentioned this elegy from Ibn Khallakān's *Tārīkh* and *Aghānī* as well as *Sharh Risālah Ibn Zaydūn*. Despite all this evidence, Ṣāwī mistakenly says that the elegy is only six verses."

297. Mīrzā Muhammad Taqī Sepehr, *Nāsikh al-Tawārīkh* (Islamiyya), vol. 7, p. 372.

298. See *al-'Uyūn wa al-Maḥāsin* (Najaf), vol. 1, p. 18 and p. 19.

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